

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

PART I

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M. A.



154.025
Sha

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

MUMBAI



*From the collection of the United and
Miss Haines, South Carolina*

SEVEN AND TWO NINE-ONE

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A systematic study including source material

BY
S. R. SHARMA, M.A.

Revised Edition



KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

1968

<i>First Edition</i>	1938
<i>Revised "</i>	1940
<i>Reprint</i>	1948

راستی هر چه، رضائی خداست
 کس نداند که گم شد از راه راست

*'Truth is the means of pleasing God ;
 I never saw any that lost on the right road.'*

—TRANSLATIONS OF JAMALI SHAI.

*To know anything thoroughly
 nothing available must be excluded.*

.. ۲۲۱ (KARIM LOOT)

PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1904. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need which owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements suggested of revising the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Mughal history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Harris, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method". Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai bore "the principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Indian Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the historical sources available to him in English." I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the overwhelming mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto "to know anything thoroughly nothing second-

be most be included (” with what result. It is for my requesting critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically account in this short Preface. The detailed references in the footnotes are intended to be guides to deeper study as well as acknowledgments of my sources.

Philadelphia College }
 January 1946 }

S. R. TAYLOR

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
Ch. I.—INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER	8
GENEALOGY (BABUR'S LINEAGE)	18
AUTHORITIES	19
Ch. II.—HOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED	20
BABUR'S FAMILY	26
AUTHORITIES	33
Ch. III.—THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION	36
SHIR SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS	37
AUTHORITIES	37
Ch. IV.—THE SUR INTERREGNUM	39
GENEALOGY (AKBAR'S FAMILY)	42
AUTHORITIES	42
Ch. V.—RESTORATION OF EMPIRE	47
Ch. VI.—REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE	55

Illustrations

AKBAR AND TWO MANGRAHARS	Frontispiece
THE DEERIN IN MARBLE	Facing 5
JALANDHAR	Facing 241
CROSS OF THE DEERIN	Facing 275
KEY TO CROSS OF THE DEERIN	

Maps

INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER	Facing 11
MIGRAAL BABUR IN 1519 A. D.	Facing 123

INTRODUCTION

"The study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly skepticism."

—R. C. Dutt

The period of nearly two and half centuries that covers the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahir-ud din Muhammad Bâbur, by his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Pânipat, ushered in a new era in India and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Moghuls in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two adventurers, Henry in England and Bâbur in India, was not dissimilar: both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones; both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretensions, of the disestablished power; both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, likewise did a monarch of the Moghul dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rajput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was still necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed. Akbar aimed at the same objective, but did not seek to impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' he thought, "it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be one and all, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the

people, and security to the Empire."¹

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Secondly, the comparison or contrast is not always between two individual and exactly contemporaneous monarchs, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two dynasties and countries. Yet few are more at odds as Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahangir and James I. without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England, and Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition; both James and Jahangir were notorious for the mixture of opposite elements in their character. "The contemporary of 'the white fool in Christendom,' who was 'fierce in ever tribes and a tiller whose serious labour was required,' is thus described by V. A. Smith: Jahangir "was a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and delusion."² The generation after the death of each of these witnessed a civil war in both countries: though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The parliamentary Auranqzeb and the parliamentary Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a deep trait in common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Shazis, like the later Moghals, were but inglorious representations of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the very road to complete political emancipation, Auranqzeb was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan; and from the death of Auranqzeb (1707) to the extinction of his Empire was not a far cry. "At some imperial corpse," writes Lacaze-Popie, "preserved for ages in its dried skeleton, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the same breath of heaven, so fall the Empire of the

1. Bernal, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 211-12.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 382.

Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more"¹. In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's Imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrew and the red cross of St. George. But when England was thus integrating, the Mughal Empire was fast disintegrating. When in 1708 Nadir Shah took away the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan from Delhi, he deploiled, not merely the Imperial capital of its wealth but also the Imperial crown of its prestige. In 1761, after the third battle of Panipat, as Elphinstone observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself: its territory is broken into separate states; the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependant; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."²

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction, their counterpart figures were only the lingering shadows of a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Panipat, the last of the house of Delhi and Akbar died in exile in Rangoon, in 1858, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1857 by Lieutenant Hodson of the Intelligence Department, tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1858, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahadur Shah "the great emperor." Only 260 years earlier, in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Great Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success; in 1685, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the ministerial chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious (and) aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'....persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, hastily planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon

1. Lane-Poole, *Mughal India*, p. 412.

2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 733.

Bengal altogether.¹ But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Panipat also saw the final discomfiture of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The traders who fled in terror to Pata in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."²

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the body of this work. Here it may be only pointed out that, since the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the deterioration of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when its personality at its centre possessed strength and genius. It became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must therefore find an important place in the scheme of our work; their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age, and as R. G. Dani says, "We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administrations were arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the often days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reasons for justification."³

Nevertheless, writers are not rare who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to show in their proper his-

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

2. *Ibid.*

Seventy-Ninth Street

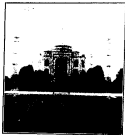


Photo by Mr. P. N. Anderson

"THE DREAM OF MARSH"

partial perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue, the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts, if not of the facts themselves. It will not do to judge the builders of the Taj and Fateh-pur-Sikri by modern standards and declare them hideous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Badkhal or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealise him on the sole authority of Abul Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and where they seem to speak with a dubious voice reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Great Moghals from such a stand-point, one can easily agree with E. M. Edwards, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and foibles, and when one turns from the mild catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fateh-pur-Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the MoG Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchalé of France concerning a peculiar member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century: 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before denouncing a man of that quality!' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."¹

The virtues as well as the vices of the Great Moghals in India were not a peculiar product of the tropics; their spiritual doubts were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643-1715; Frederick William I from 1713-40; Frederick the Great, 1740-88; and Peter the Great from 1682-1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not be individually studied. "Louis XIV," writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles was the envy and admiration of the world. He provoked a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was

1. Edwards and Carron, *Moghal Rule in India*, p. 383.

building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and crafts would permit. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or extended their châteaux to the new pattern. A great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The luxurians arts flourished everywhere; sculpture in alabaster, faience, gilt wood-work, metal work, stamped leather, much more, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and bookbinding, fine cookery, fine vintages.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and lace, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing wares; and still more wonderful 'ladies,' under towns of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the son of his world, emperor of the rosy and sultry and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

"It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronize literature and the sciences.... Louis XIV decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men."

There was another side to the picture. "Great numbers of his most able and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. ... Under his rule were carried out the "dragonades," a peculiarly malignant and efficient form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their women-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded specimen of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzeb, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, "an incompetent imitator of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that common obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. Here such women as the Duchess of Châtillon, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the passions of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the venities and agites

of those countries, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with intrigue and prostitution and imposture because of them, the reader must learn from the accounts of the time."¹

Students of Imperial History would do well to run over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the rump-flogging, the autocracy, and the execution of the Grand Monseigneur in India. Then they will read 'not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (Bacon).

1. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 224-25, (Cambridge, Popular Ed. 1899.)

CHAPTER I

INDIA AS BÂBÜR FOUND HER

'It is a remarkably fine country : it is quite a different world compared with our countries.'

So wrote Bâbūr in his *Tuzuk* or *Wâfiqat*, a work which Euphrosyne characterises as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia."¹ It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror . . . In Bâbūr the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are never dull and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller ; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."²

Just, as it is, it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the five pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Mirâat*.

'Hindkutan,' writes Bâbūr, "is situated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. . . You have no sooner passed the river Sindh than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindkutan.'

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindkutan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uni-

1. Euphrosyne, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

form look : its gardens have no walls ; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the peninsula, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

¹ In Hindústán the depopulation and decay, or total destruction, of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (il. on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.

² The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations occur pouring down all at once and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

³ Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless ; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effect of the moisture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

⁴ There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season ; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *dhuli*.

⁵ It grows warm during Taurar and Griefel, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heat of Balch and Karachár. It is not above half so warm as in these Places.

Nevertheless, "The chief excellence of Hindústán is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver....Another convenience of Hindústán is that the workmen of every profession and trade

and innumerable, and without end. For any work of any employment there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.¹

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Babur. *Ẓihār-i-Bābūrī*, a work of the reign of Jalālīgī, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Babur's invasion. 'One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultan Haidar's time,' it says, 'was that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan Abū-d-din Khiljī; but even that is doubtful. . . . Ten mases of corn could be purchased for one *halkhī*; five *dir* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same abundance; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. . . . A respectable man with a family dependent on his might obtain wages at the rate of five *tanke* a month. A houseman received from twenty to thirty (*tanke*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one *halkhī* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.²

Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualise the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Babur found her in 1519 A.D.

'The capital of Hindostan,' writes Babur, 'is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shihāb-d-din Ghori to the end of Sultan Firuz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindostan was in the possession of the Emperors of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Musalman kings and two Pagans retained royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Rājās* and *Rājās* in the hills and woody country, yet those were the chief and the only ones of importance.'³

1. E. & D., *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, IV: pp. 121-22.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

3. *Ibid.* p. 122.



Drawn by Mr. F. N. Ambekar

INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS (1000 B. C.)

A.—MUSALMAN KINGS

1. *Delhi*.—"One of these powers was the Afghān, whose government included the capital, and extended from Baharā to Bihār ... Sultan Bahādur Lodī Afghān, and his son Sultan Sikandar seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpūr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government."

2. *Gujarat*. "The second prince was Sultan Muḥammad Musaffir, in Gujarat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Bahādur's defeat (at Pānpat, 1526). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *Kaṣṣa* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the *Kurān*. They call this man *Targ*. Their ancestors were cap-bearers to the Sultan Feroz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Feroz they took possession of the throne of Gujarat."

3. *Bahmans*.—"The third kingdom is that of the Bahmans in the Dekhān, but at the present time the Sultāns of the Dekhān have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*."

4. *Mīrāt*.—"The fourth king was Sultan Māḥmūd, who reigned in the country of Mīrāt, which they likewise call Mīrātī. This dynasty was the *Khilā*. Mīrāt Senāt, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak."

5. *Bengal*.—"The fifth prince was Nusrat Shāh, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a subject of the name of Sultan Aḥm-d dīn. He had obtained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty... whoever fills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king; ... the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne: whoever sits the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shāh's father, an Abyssinian (Mouaffik Shāh Bahād), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultan Aḥm-d dīn killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was

acknowledged as king. After Sultan Ali-ad din's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.²

'The five kings who have been mentioned,' says Iltutmish, 'are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies'.

B.—HINDU KINGS

1. *Vijayanagar*.—The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rājā of Vijayanagar.

2. *Mysore*.—Another is Rājā Saka, who has attained his present high position, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitā. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Hindū, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Hindū, such as Ranpūr (Rajamphur), Srirangpūr, Bēlgañ, and Chitāñ.

'There were a number of other Rājās and Rājās on the borders and within the territory of Hindūstān; many of whom, on account of their misadventures, or the difficulty of access into their country have come submitted to the Musalmān Kings.'

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Iltutmish himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the position by Iltutmish of the kingdoms of Kāśmīr, Orissā, Gujāt, and Kāshmir. With the former two Iltutmish had nothing to do: Kāśmīr enjoyed a quiet paucity under its Hindu (Musalmān) ruler; and Orissā (Hindū) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Gujāt was ruled by the Sumras till 1326. Then Shāh Bīg Arghūn, being driven away by Iltutmish from Kandahār, took possession of it. His son Shāh Husain was defeated by

1. Naif-ud din Husain Shāh was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affection, for he not only refused from slaying, mauling, or imprisoning his brother, but doubled the provisions which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Roshan Lodi, and delivered many an Afghan chief who had been Delhi, after the battle of Panipat, and bestowed lands upon them. He sent Qutb Shāh one of his nobles, in 1329, to make a demonstration against Iltutmish, further details of which will be found in Ch. II, below—p. 22.

2. E. & D. op. cit., pp. 229-32.

Bihar in 1527. Kishore was a prey to internal factions; its nobles set up and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad Shah ruled Kishore, from 1489 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Nijji Chak. In the latter year the minister overthrew his master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Bihār's officers. Later, however, the factional nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Maghals to retire into the Panjab.

Secondly, even of the rulers and kingdoms mentioned by Bihār, it is worth while to add a little more information. Among the contemporary rulers of India Bihār has chosen to make special mention of the Raja of 'Bijayanagar' and 'Rani Sanki.' He characterises the former as 'the most powerful of the Pagan princes in point of territory and army'¹ but nevertheless, he was too distant from Bihār for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence, . . . by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Bihār himself and found wanting. Besides defeating the Rani at Kolmas (March, 1527), 'in the year 934 (A.H.), by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chindur, which was commanded by Mal-dari Rāi (Malini Rāi), one of the highest and most distinguished of Rani Sanki's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.'²

1. The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras Presidency with Mysore and all other States in the peninsula. When Krishna Deva Raya fought against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, for the possession of the Kingdom of Daula, on 18th May 1565, his army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry, and 500 war-elephants, besides an unestimated host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Raya's capital, considered Vijayanagar 'the best provided city in the world; and the King himself "by right a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in armies, and territories: He is the most feared and perfect King, that could possibly be, devoid of dissimulation and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and restores them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a greater ruler and a man of much justice; gallant and perfect in all things, but subjected to sudden fits of rage" (Smith, op. cit., 394-51.)

2. E. & D. op. cit., p. 24.

Embar's uncorrupted attitude to Kristna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though this great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Moghul invader, he is worthy of remembrance because of his relations with the Bahmanis who are mentioned by Embar.

"But at the present time the Sultans of the Dehlians" he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*.' The disintegration of the Bahmanis was among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Musalman hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmani as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanis was Mahmud Shah (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up: Bijapur was the first to set up the Adil Shahi (1489); next came the Ikber Shahi of Berar (1498). After the death of Mahmud Shah (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kalyanpur, the Bahmani capital, by Amir Badli the Minister. Not content with this, Badli finally established the independent Barid Shahi of Bidar in 1536, the year of Embar's victory over Barid Shahi Lord.

Ferishta describes the situation well: 'In the year 923 H. (1506 A.D.) the Emperor Embar conquered Delhi, upon which Ismail Adil Shah, Barid Shahi Nizam Shah, Kaly Shah (who was to found the Barid Shahi of Golkonda in 1538) sent ambassadors to his court. Kalan-ullah (last of the Bahmanis) also sent one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him, Dewalchid and the province of Berar. Embar, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Gujarat being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request; but the circumstances coming to the knowledge of Amir Badli, he treated the king with greater respect; who, making his escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the king, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Barid Shahi Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Kalan-

which ended at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmani.¹

The Deccan was thus pre-occupied at the time of Bābur's invasion: being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted feud between Vijayanagar and Bahmani, and on the other by the internecine struggles between the various Muslim princes and factions (Sunni vs. Shia; Deccani vs. Foreigners—Arab, Turk, Persian, Maghul, and Abyssinian).—all contributing their share to weaken and paralyse the country by intrigue, fight, and assassination.²

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics. Vasco da Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India, by reaching Calicut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jeddah; they also became a menace to the Muslim kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1505, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal port in the Bāghr territory. In 1509, the year in which Bābur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Daman and captured it. "The entry of this European naval power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.³

North India was in no better position to offer effective resistance to the invader. Both Mīrāt and Gulabāt were constantly at war with the Rājputs under Rājā Sangh and Medāl Rāj. In northern Mīrāt, particularly, the Rājputs had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahād II, the reigning prince at the time of Bābur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Medāl Rāj. Subsequently, jealous of the Rājputs, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Mansafar Sultān II of Gujrat. Medāl Rāj secured the aid of Rājā Sangh and inflicted a defeat upon the Muslims. Mahād was wounded and captured but divinely restored to his throne. Yet, when Mansafar of Gujrat died, in 1526, Mahād unwisely supported Qutub Khān younger son of

1. Briggs, II, pp. 358-9.

2. Bāghr alone lost 14,000 killed in the battle of Rāichak, 17th May, 1520.

3. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 496. For details of Portuguese policy in India, see Smith, op. cit., pp. 382-4.

Musafir against his able older brother Bahadur Shah. As a penalty for his backing the wrong horse, Bahadur Shah annexed Mithra to his own kingdom in 1521.

Bahadur Shah, who was to try conclusions with Babur's son, was among formidable, unwarmed by the Mughal invader. In 1504, his father Musafir Shah had supplied Alau Khori, an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, with a small force and a sum of money to contest for the throne of Delhi. But Bahadur Shah himself, being dissatisfied with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrahim Lodi, in 1520, when the latter was preparing for his fatal struggle. While the Gujarat adventurer distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Mughals, he did not permit for long; evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpur, where he heard of his father's death, and hastened home. There he busied himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriage and political alliances with rival princes of Berar and Khatwakh against Bidar and Ahmednagar. In 1529, he also welcomed Abu Firda of Sind who had been driven away by Shah Bay Arghun, the fugitive from Babur already mentioned (p. 12 above). In 1530, he received under his protection Afghan refugees from Delhi; and fanned the fire against the Portuguese who had just taken Daman.

In Rajasthan, Rana Sangh (or Sangram Singh), who succeeded the throne of Mewar (Chittor) in 1508, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Rajasthan. 'Eighty thousand horse, seven lakhs of the highest rank, 704 chieftains with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mewar reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Mithra; no force could face him in Hindustan. According to Spanish Bala, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarat, and Mithra, who was able to make head against him. The borders of the Indian Empire over two hundred cities inhabited by people of the Faith.'

Finally, we come to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrahim Lodi succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yabgh says, 'Many nobles became aware of the

1. Cited by Rudenstam Williams, *An Empire Builders*, pp. 12-13.

king's feeble disposition and raised the standard of opposition.¹ He degenerated his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1517) one of his brothers was proclaimed king at Jaspur, was subdued in the course of twelve months, and was privately executed by Baidia, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Ballu Khān next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Baidia's dominion threw off its allegiance, and formed a separate state under Daryā Khān Lohāni, whose son afterwards took the title of King. Daudat Khān Loṭi, Governor of the Panjāb, denuding the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted and asked in the aid of Akbar.² So also did Bāli Sargā: "The Empire of Delhi was in confusion; it had become the prey of the strongest; and the former successes and mighty power of the King might serve to justify at once his hopes of avenging himself on the vacant throne of the Loṭis, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghāns and Turān invaders from India, and restoring her own Hinda race of kings, and her native institutions."³

1. E. D. *op. cit.*, V, p. 14.

2. *Hydaspur*, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

3. *Enrich, Akbar and Hindustan*, I, p. 483.

BIBUR'S PEDIGREE

GENEALOGY



Note :—It will be seen from the above that Bibur was *Moh* in descent from Tamer and fourteenth from Chingiz Khan, both of these great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Bibur was a *Tartar* from his father's side, and a *Mongol* on his mother's side. *Tartar* is therefore a more accurate term for Bibur's dynasty, than *Mughal*, *Mughal* or *Mogul* is the Persian and Indian form of *Mongol*.

3. Bibur was the cognomen given to his grandson by Timur Khan. In *Tartar* it means 'sign.'

(For a history of Tamer and Chingiz Khan and their descendents prior to Bibur, see Erisman, *A History of India under the First Five Sovereigns of the House of Tamerlane*, vol. I, pp. 2-55).

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (1) Bibur's own *Memoirs* are the principal source of information about his life and career.

"If ever there were a case," writes Lane-Poole, "when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Bibur's *Memoirs*. . . . No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

According to Beveridge, the *Bibur-Nama* (*Babur* or *Baburnama*, i.e., *Babur*), or *Tuzuk-i-Babur* as Bibur's *Memoirs* have been variously called) "is one of those precious records which are for all time."

Elliot says, "Babar's *Memoirs* form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant."

Originally written in Babur's native tongue, Turki, it was translated into Persian, notably, by Mirza Akbar-Rahim (Bakram Khan's son) in 1589, by order of Akbar.¹ Its first English translation was made by Leyden and Kinkade in 1625 (2 vols. ed. King, O. V. P. 1931) and the second in 1905 by Mrs. Beveridge (2 vols. Lanes, 1921). There is also a French translation by Faest de Guerbille (1871).

The first part of the *Memoirs* being revised and enlarged by Babur himself, after his invasion of India, is better than the second part which has remained an unreviced and rough diary. There are three important gaps in the *Memoirs*: the first covering the period 1503-1504; the second 1508-19; and the third 1520-22.

They are therefore to be supplemented by—

(i) *Tārīkh-i-Fatāih* of Mirza Haidar (a cousin of Babur) who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Babur's death. According to Kinkade, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man; and, in the later parts, of a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the *Commentaries* of Babur, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal annals are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

It has been rendered into English by Ellis and Desmon, Foss (1866).

(ii) *Hamsayeh-Nisbat* of Babur's daughter, Gulshah Begum, is, in the estimation of Rasthorpe Williams, "unacceptably partial". Nevertheless, it contains some personal recollections of its author's father. It has been edited by Mrs. Beveridge" (R. A. S., 1902).

(iv) *Tārīkh-i-Fatāih* of Mahomed Khatim Farishta also supplies the gaps in Babur's *Memoirs*. The account, says Rasthorpe Williams, "is sure, accurate, and well-balanced". For an English translation of it see Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612*, vol. II, pp. 1-68. Longmans (1829).

1. A beautiful MS copy of this, with Shah Jahan's autograph on the fly-leaf and many coloured pictures, is said to be in the Asiat. Collège Library.

B. Sarason: (i) Krishna, *A History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Babur and Humayun*, vol. I, Longman's (1934).

(ii) Lane-Poole, *Babur*, *Politen of India Series*, O. U. P. (1896).

(iii) Rostkowski William, 'An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century,' Longman (1918).

(iv) Edwards, S. M., *Babur : Warrior and Diplomat*, Philpot, (London).

Note :—The Bibliographies given in this book are not exhaustive. Only such works as are considered most essential have been included. Further guidance is to be had in the works hands cited.

Ellis and Dowson's *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, contains valuable extracts from various original sources in translation. (3 vols. Trilohar, 1877). These may now be read along with Prof. Hotchkin's *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

"Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing."

Babur.

The Moghal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Babur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given such a man," writes Feroz A. Shah, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Babur's life falls into three definite periods: 1. *Early adventures up to his conquest of Kabul* (1494-1504); 2. *Babur as King of Kabul* (1504-25); and 3. *Babur in India* (1525-30).

1. EARLY ADVENTURES

Bābur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (Makarān 5, 888 Aḥḥad).

A. Birth and Ancestry. Bābur's father Umar Shaikh, died on Monday, June 8, 1494 (Rabi'ul 4, 899 H).¹

Bābur's *Memoirs* begin with the sentence:—'In the month of Rabi'ul of the year 899 (Hijrah), in the twelfth year of my age, I became ruler in the country of Farghina.'

Timūr's empire had been divided among his own descendants, as well as those of Chingiz Khān. Its principal kingdoms and rulers were all interrelated as follows:—

1. Tashkent, Samarkand, Balkh and Herat were under Bābur's elder maternal uncle, Mahomet Khān.
2. The region between Tashkent and Yarkand was under Bābur's younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khān.
3. Samarkand and Balkh were ruled by Bābur's eldest paternal uncle, Ahmad Mirā.
4. Badakhshan, Ilak and Kunduz were ruled by Bābur's elder paternal uncle, Mahomet Mirā.
5. Kabul and Ghazni were ruled by Bābur's youngest paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg.
6. Khorasan and Herat were under Husain Mirā, the head of the House of Timūr.
7. Farghina was the kingdom of which Bābur's father, Umar Shaikh, was the ruler.

Yūsuf Khān, twelfth in descent from Chingiz Khān, had three daughters by his first wife. They were married respectively to Bābur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mirā and Mahomet Mirā, and Bābur's father Umar Shaikh. Kutluk Begm was Bābur's mother.

Both Yūsuf Khān and his wife, Ain-Daulat Begm, exercised considerable influence over Bābur. About the former, Bābur writes in his *Memoirs*: 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society'; and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture; she was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried through by her advice.'

¹ See also C. R. L. IV, p. 3.

Illah combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and sagacity of the Turk,' and the polished urbanity of the Persian—traits were all inherited traits.

Farghina, with Andijan as its capital, was, as above noticed, Umar Shahid's kingdom. It was a fertile tract of country on the Jaxartes, 50,000 sq. miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkistan). But Illah's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mirza who had received the largest share of the paternal dominions, viz., Samarkand and Bukhara.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Shahid died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June, 1484). This fatal event synchronised with the invasion of Farghina by Illah's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmud Mirza, respectively.

Though Illah was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gratefully records: 'They (i.e., his enemies) found in our wisdom and patriotism a resolution and single-mindedness such as would not let them think from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies'.

Samarkand, the city of Trade, (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mirza) exercised the greatest fascination over Co-Samarkand. The ambitious son of Umar Shahid. It was in the west of Farghina, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Beg), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques. According to Illah 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skilled'.

In July 1484, when Ahmad Mirza died, Illah set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1486), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Illah's life.

Next year (1487), though only for a while, Illah succeeded in his ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghina, which cost him both the kingdom: 'This for the sake of Farghina I had given up Samarkand and now found I had lost the one without securing the other.'

After this, Bābur became a wanderer for two years. As he

himself writes, ever since he was eleven years of
 12. Wanderings.

age, he never spent two days out of the month in the same place; or in the words of Ferishta, 'the foothill of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore.'¹ But wherever he went, Bābur was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature,—especially 'a wonderful, delicate, and tortuous river with a mottled skin like shagreen.'

In 1465, he won Fergāna back, though he had to lose it again in 1500, because of an attempt to restrain his greedy 'Mughal vassals' from plundering. 'It was a senseless thing,' he writes, 'to equip so many men with arms in their hands. In war and in strife such a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon. This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second capture.'

Once more, therefore, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb, many a horse and camel dropped and fell out.... We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and toils, at last we topped those murderous steep dolles and came down on the barrens of Kān, with its lovely expanse of lake.'

During 1500-1 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Aynshā, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to paradise at the mercy of God.' After this they parted; but, 'as my affections decreased, my rhyms increased.'

Soon, Bābur was defeated by Shāhruh, the Uzbek Leader at Sar-yūz (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samarkand within eight months. From 1502-4 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with clubs

1. Ferishta, II, p. 23.

2. 'Shāhruh or Shāh Beg was a princely adventurer who first became Governor of Tashkent, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Timurids in general, and of Bābur in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty, made him a most formidable opponent; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was so constant an insuperable barrier to the career of the young prince of Fergāna.' (Rothmore Williams, op. cit. p. 54.)

in their hands and tattered clothes in their backs.' In a garden he was once awaiting death; 'but soon found life and fortune'. The kingly blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kabul, in 1804.

II. KING OF KABUL (1804-1825)

'It was in the last ten days of the second Rabi (Oct. 1804) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābul and Ghazni and their dependent districts.'

'During my residence at Kābul', he writes with great self-complacency, 'I passed my days in such entire idleness of care, as I never did at any other time or do now.' So he assumed, in 1807, the title of *Pashāh* or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Timurid before him: 'Up to that date people had styled Timur Bag's descendants *Afshar* even when they were ruling; now I ordered that people should style me *Pashāh*.'

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'

The same year (1807), Durr conquered Kandahār and turned it upon his younger brother Nāsir, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

Durr still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1807) also he paid a visit to his cousin in Herat which was 'the home of culture and art.' 'In the whole habitable world' says Durr, 'there is not such another city.' But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in making yet another effort against Shahshāh. He, however, soon realised that 'the brave barbarians from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The *Mirās*, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Durr met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless,

L. Istaitieh Friend, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 306, 2.; Herat, says Khwāndamir, 'is the eye—the lamp—the fountain of all other cities; Herat is the soul to the World's body; and if *Khayyān* be the lower of the earth, Herat is undoubtedly its heart.'

in 1511-12, to had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khokhān for the last time, with the help of Shāh Ismā'īl Rājā of Persia.

In Rajab, 917 Hija (Oct. 1511) Bābur re-entered Samarkand, 'in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or even since.' Bābur's dominions now reached their widest extent: from Tashkent and Sakart on the borders of the deserts of Tartary, to Kābul and Ghazni near the Indian frontier, including Samarkand, Bokhara, Hinde, Kandah and Farghāna.

But this glory was as short-lived as it was great. After flying from one part of his dominions to another, losing everywhere, he returned to Kābul in 1513-14.

The Shāh had exacted from him a very heavy price: Bābur was to hold these kingdoms under the Shāh; he was also to become a convert to the Shīa faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shīa creed on the orthodox Sūnnī subjects of the conquered kingdoms. Though Bābur refused to persecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discomfiture in the north and east, the second period of Bābur's life comes to a close; after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kābul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514-25 is of little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Bābur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

'Kābul', writes Bābur, 'is the intermediate point between Hindūstān and Khokhān'. 'Bābur', according to Lane-Poole, is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Turanians and Akbar.¹

(II). BĀBUR IN INDIA (1525-1530)

'The great advantage of Hindūstān,' Bābur was aware, 'besides its vast extent of territory, is the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, which may be found there. To Hindūstān, therefore, he turned his special attention when, after the conquest of Kābul, he felt the need for supplies:

1. *Turkic-Afghan*, p. 246; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 121.

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 2.

(1) In 1804, he marched along the Hadhrama-Afrik road, went through the Khybar, and then instead of crossing the river Indus, marched on Kofail. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1807, he received, after some discussion, to march in the direction of Hindkush. So, placing a cordon in charge of Kilat, he came as far as Adinaple (now Jalalabad), fighting his way among the Afghans and vainly attempting to subdue these 'robbers and plunderers even in time of peace'. The refusal of Shahshai emboldened Bābur to return to his capital; and once more the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Sometime between 1804 and 1805, Bābur profited by the example of Shah Ismail, determined to possess an effective artillery, and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Uftal Ali, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1820 and 1825, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert, named Mustafā, for the same purpose.

There were clear indications of Bābur's effective preparations for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindkush," confesses Rostkowski Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."¹

(4) Bābur again, in 1818, attempted seduction of the tribes and fortresses on the north-east of Kilat, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindkush.

The urge for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his wives, who said, "Go on then and possess Five Expeditions, yourself of the noblest country in the universe. Stretch beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindkush and prefer the delights of the Indies to the heat and snow of Tartary. Everything seems to invite you to the south: Providence has conducted you to Kilat and put you on the road to Hindkush! God and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the slavery of the Indians."

The effect of this on Bābur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Panipat:—

'From the year 848 H/1444, when I obtained the principality of Kilat, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased

1. Rostkowski Williams, *op. cit.*, p. III.

to think of the conquest of Hindkush. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of my *Begs*, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally, all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small *Begs* and captains, no-one dared say a word against the project.

'So, in 925 *Hijra* (1519) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking *Biljaar*. . . . From this day to 932 *Hijra* (1526) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindkush. I went there in person, at the head of my army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time, by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath my blow as many as forty-thousand Sultān Ibālāns, and I gained the vast Empire of Hind.¹

The first expedition referred to above was—

First Expedition: In 1519 he stormed *Biljaar* which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Babur's new artillery played a decisive part. 'By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours: watching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes.

Babur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindkush. If here he indulged in wholesale massacre, it was to make an example. When he proceeded farther to *Blak*, on the Indus, he acted with great restraint: 'As it was always in my heart to possess Hindkush, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks,² I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hillmen well, this order was given: *Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton seeds and broken needles.*'

He despatched Malik Mansūf to Sultān Ibālān 'giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me.' The Malik was also given letters for Daulat Khān, Governor of the Panjāb. 'But the people of Hindkush, and particularly the Afghāns,' writes Babur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, Daulat Khān detained sometime in Lahore.

1. Cf. *ibid.* p. 113, n. 1. cf. G. H. I. IV, p. 13.

2. These had overrun the Panjāb in 1299-6.

soldier using him himself, not suffering him to proceed to Sultan Behlul; so that my army, five months after, returned to Sahid without having received any answer.'

Bilbar gained India, leaving Shih in the charge of Hindo Beg; but the latter was soon (1518) expelled by the natives.

Second Expedition : The same year, in September, Bilbar again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufi and province Peshawar first as a base for future operations in Hindustan. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshan, which came into Babur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition : For the third time Bilbar marched, in 1520, through Bajaur towards Shih. Subduing the southernmost Afghan tribes on the way, he proceeded to Balkh, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Salaspur aided Bilbar, but were easily subdued. However, Bilbar had to hastily reverse his steps again to fight Shah Beg Arghun, ruler of Kandahar.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Bilbar finally acquired Kandahar, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulana, Abdul Razi. Shah Beg established himself in Shik, and Kamran (Bilbar's second son) was put in charge of Kandahar.

Fourth Expedition : Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Bilbar for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khan, Governor of the Panjab, was growing very powerful. Sultan Ibrahim had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khan offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultan's wrath, Daulat Khan sent his son Dildar Khan, to invite Bilbar to deliver Behlul Lodhi in favour of his uncle Alam Khan (or Ahmad Shih).

Bilbar readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Uthman and Dilyapir soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khan was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Bilbar, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Salaspur instead. Daulat Khan felt disappointed, and the fiefs were bestowed upon his more reliable son Dildar Khan. Dilyapir was given to Alam Khan.

Daulat Khan and his second son Ghilat Khan fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Bilbar's withdrawal. They recovered Salaspur from Dildar, and Dilyapir from Alam Khan. Behlul's

attempt to subdue Daulat Kida proved unsuccessful. But Bābur's Lāhor detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Alam Khān fled to Kābul and once again sought Shāh's aid to war himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Bābur was promised sovereignty over Lāhor and the west Punjab.

Alam Khān returned to India with this understanding. But the wily Daulat won him over. The two Khāns accordingly marched on Delhi, only to be disastrously routed by the Sultan.

Pirā Kāshānī : Bābur now crossed the frontier for the last time : Nov. 1525, with the largest army he had ever led into Hindustān. Humāyūn was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshān. Crossing the Jhelum, the Lāhor army also joined him. All told, his followers numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 8,000 were effective.

Nadirā had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Lāhor. But Daulat Kida, whom had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Ibrahim Lodī was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khān's forces melted away at Bābur's mere approach. Bābur had nothing more to do with him than to upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon watched away Daulat Khān altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humāyūn won his spurs for the first time, against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Ibrahim was coming from Delhi, and Bābur from Bikhind and Ambālā. On April 1, again Bābur's men encountered a cavalry division of the Sākā and crushed it. From April 12 to 15, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Pānīpat—the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations!

FIRST BATTLE OF PĀNIPAT

The battle was fought on April 21, 1526.

"On one side were the organs of decay, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of the mediæval type, with spested ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in fool-hardy disorder."

On April 19, a night attack by Bābur's men failed.

1. *Essays, History of India*, I, p. 76.

On April 20, there was a scare in Bihār's army, of being outnumbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unanimous conduct of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers, it had to converge suddenly; the wide front collapsed in confusion in re-adjusting itself before Bihār's narrower extended position.

A keen master of strategy, Bihār at once had recourse to 'Taigbana,' and simultaneous artillery action. The Muslims surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Siddon was a day "so fought, so followed, so fairly won."

"The sun had reached near-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the army were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was laid in the dust."

Footnote: Bihārī lay dead on the field, together with Bihān, the Hindu Rājā of Oudh, "who had joined the Muslim Sultan in defence of their common country."¹

(2) 8,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultan was found dead; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. "On reaching Agra, we heard from the accounts of the natives of Hindustan, that 20,000 or 30,000 men had fallen in the field."²

(3) "The hard simply changed nature after one supreme effort."³ *ib. idem.*

"To the Afghans of Delhi the battle of Panipat was their Calcutta. It was the rule of their dominions, the end of their power."⁴

(4) The battle of Panipat marks the end of the second stage in Bihār's conquest of Hindustan.

1. This was the usual Viking tactic: first breaking the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on front and rear, letting fly the arrows at a breakneck gallop, and if repulsed returning at top-speed. Bihār learnt this from Shadli, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India. (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 87.) For plan of battle see Kaulbarsse Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 131, C. H. I., IV, pp. 12-13.

2. Kauls, *op. cit.*

3. K. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 228.

4. Kauls, *loc. cit.*

5. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Review : *Heinrich Loeff*, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in *Bilhar's* estimation, "an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight."

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in *Bilhar's* favour: it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly readjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion.

(4) *Bilhar* was, on the contrary, a tried and successful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm: it was their Emperor's cool advice and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck."

(5) *Heinrich's* war-elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against *Bilhar's* scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The bat was used in India among the earliest by *Bilhar*.¹

After the victory *Bilhar* at once despatched *Hemastya*, with

The sequel. *Khetaj Khatin*, to *Agri*, and another party to take charge of the forts and treasure of Delhi.

On Friday, April 22, the *Shahis* were sent in his name to Delhi.

Marching with the main army, *Bilhar* halted on the *Jamun* opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. "On Thursday, the 25th Rajab (May 1321), about the hour of afternoon prayer, I entered *Agri*, and took up my residence in

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Bilhar's* description of the reception of the fire-arms at *Bilhar* is interesting:—

"The people of *Bilhar*," he writes, "had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them: but, hearing the reports of the shots, stood opposite the guns, waiting and playing merrily with bows. But, that day *Uthaj Ali Khatin* (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and *Wah Khatin* killed two and the other combatants shot well and bravely, . . . and slaying so truly that before night seven to ten *Rajpoots* were laid low, whereupon defence of the fort became so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen."

Scots Hoshim's palace.¹ Hans Silber received from Harnidya, among other treasures, a diamond (Koh-i-noor?) valued at "half the daily expenditure of the whole world."² But the latter, in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Harnidya together with other gifts worth 75,000,000 silver (or £20,000). "A passage of the value of seven lacs was bestowed on Hoshim's mother. Parganas were also given to each of her Amins. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a lacs below Agni." His Aigs received six to ten lacs apiece (41,750 to £5,800). Every soldier got his share of the booty. Even traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the sharing, including those who were absent. Friends in Farghana, Khorasan, Kafiristan, and Persia were surprised with gifts of gold and silver, cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herat, Samarkand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings; and every person in Kábil, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the wealth of the capital for the support of the army and administration.³

POST-PANIPAT PROBLEMS

When I first arrived in Agni, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Agni, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.⁴ The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Panipat is best described in his own words :—

1. Tavernier valued it at £880,000 (Erichson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 493). It had originally belonged to Sultan Akbar the Third of Mughal. It was taken by Hans Silberköt of Gellion who had fallen on the field at Panipat. Now the Gellion camp presented it to Harnidya as ransom while he besieged Agni (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 227).

It weighed 8 miskals or 224 carats (872 carats). Aurangzeb's diamond presented to him by Mir Juma, weighed 800 carats. (Erigen, II, pp. 46-7). C. H. I. IV, p. 12, says that the diamond is now in the Tower of London. Cf. Mohl *etc.*, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals* (Lahore, 1940), pp. 182-187.

2. E. & D., *loc. cit.*

3. Lya-Pons, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-7.

(12) 'Khalid Saadullah was in Samkhal.

(13) 'Mikla Khalid in Baylun.

(14) 'the King Hasan Khalid Mawla himself in Mawla.

'That infidel' was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections.

(15) 'Kamaj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghans, such as Mikla Khalid (Lahind), Mawla Pannu, and a number of other *Ashiks* who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Nadir.

At the period I defined that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kamaj and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and occupied two or three marches on this side of Kamaj. They elected Bihir Khalid (or Bahadur Khalid), the son of Daryl Khalid, as their King, and gave him the name of Sa'idul Mah-mud. When I came to Agra we could not find grain, or provender, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of troops, to send proper parties to occupy and protect the different jangheras and stations.' To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Bihir's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Bhgs* and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustan, and even began to make preparations for retreat. 'I no longer heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my *Bhgs* to a council. I told them that, by Divine power, I had routed my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what have I accomplished, and what hardship oblige us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat

1. Sheikh Mubashshir Mahmud (1748-1801 A.D.) in his *Masabih-i-Muhammadiyah* characterizes this Mian Mawla Pannu in the following terms: 'He was a miserly, covetous, and avaricious man. From the time of Nizam Salim to that of Fatah Salim, he fought in every battle-field but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or payment from any king (as he was saying "solely in the name of God") and would never set foot from the house of any *Misdaq*.' For interesting anecdotes illustrating the character, see K. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 246-8.

back to Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? "Let not any one who calls himself my friend, ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discomfited were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes.¹

The final subjugation of the Afghans had to be deferred to the face of a more formidable foe.

Raja Sangha Singh of Sindh, popularly known as Raja Sangha,² and Madad Ali of Chitradel, were two tough warriors under whose leadership the Sikhs had determined to drive out the invader.

The fact that Madam Iba Hama Khan Mowati, and Sahib Mahmud Lodi (brother of Ibrahim Lodi) had joined with the Sikhs, made it apparent that it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.

1. Raja Sangha was the head of the Rajput principality of Chitaur, and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rajputs, is allowed the precedence among all the Rajput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Akbar, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length assumed the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side, and added largely to his hereditary dominions. From Sultan Mahmud Khalji, the king of Malwa—where he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry—he had wrested the wide and valuable provinces of Bilhal, Samangar, Chitradel and Panwar-Moor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sultan Ibrahim of Delhi, and twice had met the Sultan himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Rajas, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rajas and Rajas, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Malwa and Amber did him homage, and the Rajas of Chitaur, Alwar, Sirsi, Malwa, Kalpi, Chitradel, Bhandi, Gagraon, Marwar, and Jala, served him as tributaries or held of him in fee. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior: one eye was lost in the battle with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a foot being broken with a cannon-ball in action, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword on the lower or various parts of his body. (Lamb-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.)

Abmad Yādgār, in his *Shāh-i-Salāh-i-Afghānī* writes : 'Rājā Sanga who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Humāyūn saying, "The Mughals have entered Hindūstān, have taken Sukkīn Jirkūn, and taken possession of the country ; it is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us ; if you will side with me we will be able, and not suffer them to take possession."¹

But Bābur himself looked upon this only as a *holy war* against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. This is indicated by his assumption of the title of *Qādī* after the victory : 'After this victory, I used the epithet of *Qādī*, in the Imperial title.' This was necessary to arouse his dispirited and homesick followers. Bābur was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a cowardly word, nor an individual who delivered a cowardly opinion. The Wazīrs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amīrs who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or department such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehensions of Bābur's men, who had heard discouraging stories of Rājput valour. Bābur, as Lane-Poole points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Rājputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour."²

The forebodings of an astrologer, whom Bābur describes as an 'evil-minded usually fellow,' made things appear more ominous. But Bābur rose equal to the situation, as always he had done :

'On Monday, the 22nd of the first Jumādī, I had recourse to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had been confirmed *topi* ;³ now he determined to renounce wine for ever. So, 'having

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 38-9.

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 176.

3. Here is a typical passage from the *Mumukshu*, wonderfully fresh and vigorous :—

went for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other necessaries used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and re-

Oct. 18: We feasted at Japhelle. Towards evening guests there was a drinking party; most of the household were present. Near the end, Q. M. grew very noisy and troublesome, and, when he got drunk, did down on the cushion by my side, whereupon Q. T. picked him up and carried him out.

Missing dinner before day-break I explored the valley of the Hsiao-shu: some sweet fruit were in great plenty. We feasted there and, having dined reasonably, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made chess till a sleep picked up on the road, had some meat steamed, and amused ourselves by holding oak branches.

Oct. 20: On Sunday I had a party in the small picture-gallery next the gate. Though the room was very small we were sixteen.

Oct. 20: We went to Lushui to see the harvest. This day was dear the sin of Malice (i.e., I took Shang). During the night there was a great deal of rain: most of the Hsiao and household were obliged to take refuge in my tent outside the garden. Next morning we had a drinking party in the same garden; we continued at it till night.

Nov. 1: On the following morning we again had an early cup... going intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day preparations were left behind and took a drag (killing) on the road. It was about afternoon previous before we reached Hsinan. The crops were extremely good. While we were riding round the harvest fields, those who were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking bout. Although nothing had been taken, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit and began to drink. We kept the party in the same place till bed-time previous. Shieh-shih who had got very drunk and made an offensive remark, concerning his women, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet style all the rest of the evening.

Jan. 5, 1908: We embarked on a raft and alighted near the Garden of Pailienan. The oranges were yellowing well and the grass of the plants was luxuriant. We stayed five or six days there. As I abstained when juicy pears did to abstain from wine, and as now I wasn't worried any more one year of that age, I drank what was opportune.

Jan. 7: Shieh-shih played an air, which he compared to the *Afghanistan* measure while I took my drag. It was charming. For sometime I had not much attended to musical matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something.

Jan. 10: While taking an early glass it was said in sport that whoever spoke like a Persian should drink a cup. In the result many drank. About nine in the morning, while we were sitting under willows in the meadow, it was proposed that everyone who spoke like a Turk should drink a cup; and numerous drank. When the sun appeared high we went under the orange trees and drank our wine on the bank.

sanctified the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *devotés* and the poor."

Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from Ghazir; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an altar-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his Muhammadan followers and subjects, he gave up the *jangha* or stamp-tax in all his dominions so far as *Moslems* were concerned.

To "stiffen the sinews, and warm up the blood" of his men Bihur also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words:—

"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into this world is subject to dissolution.... How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy. God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs. If we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from war, a death, or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."

To mark the action to his words, on New Year's Day (March 12, 1527) 'they took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought in.... This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the discs of their wives, and on the Holy Book': they recited the *Salleh* and said, "O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and despatch, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Bihur declared *Jihad* or holy war on the infidel, on February 11, 1547. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements:—

I. Cf. *The Shajahan Nama*, Ch. II.:

'Naught better can decide a martial soul
Than lawful war: happy the warrior
To whom comes joy at battle—comes, as now,
Glorious and fair, unthought; opening for him
A gateway of Heaven
..... Either, being killed,
Thou wilt win George's martyr, or alive
And victor, thou wilt reign as earthly King'

(Tr. Edwin Arnold.)

(C) "Although Pihai Sanga, the Pagan, when I was in Kibbi, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agri; yet, when I defeated Hethala, and took Delhi and Agri, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement."

(H) On the other hand the Pagan also complained of broken faith; and, in particular claimed Kāpti, Dholpur, Bayana, as well as Agri—all of which had been occupied by Bābur.¹

(I) "Pihai Sanga, having reduced Nidam Kōlin of Bayana to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Bābur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to assist Sanga, Nidam Kōlin was confirmed in possession of Bayana, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees."²

The two armies met at Kōtwa (10 miles from Bāli: 20 from Agri) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Bābur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Pāldpur, with this difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special reserve in the disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Bābur in person led the centre, Humāyūn was on the right, and Mīrāj Khwājā (Bābur's brother-in-law?) on the left.³

The effectives on the Bābur side, no doubt, outnumbered their antagonists by seven or eight to one;⁴ and, although Bābur's army on this occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Pāldpur, "the depression and vacillation which the Pichāhā was at pains to concourse prove that the intrigue worked was not in vain."⁵

Result: The victory of Bābur, was nevertheless final and complete. Hardly a clan of the Bājpatis was then but had lost the

1. Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

2. Briggs, II, p. 51.

3. For plan and details see Rothbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

4. "Whatever the exact numbers might have been—"a more gallant army could not be brought into the field." (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 100.)

5. Rothbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

flower of its princely blood. Akbar Sangs himself escaped badly wounded. The hands of the gallant Rajputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Akbar, as previously stated, assumed the title of Ghili or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Ratanak¹ were most momentous: (1) The menace of Rajput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadans in India for the last ten years, was removed once for all. (2) The Moghal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, "Akbar had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the consolidation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonists. *Although the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as an episode in Akbar's career of adventures, but from henceforth it became the keystone of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away: the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which the battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a critical field. Fighting the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom: it is never fighting for his throne.*"

(3) "It is also significant," he further observes, "of Akbar's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Ratanak to Hindustan . . . He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away."²

(4) Within a year Akbar had struck two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great organised forces: the battle of Panipat had utterly broken the Afghan power in India; the battle of Ratanak (also called Hatt) crushed the great Rajput Confederacy.³

Akbar consolidated his officers to subjugate the rest of the country, and sent them in various directions with small forces to help them. "These little

1. A village in Meerut State 30 miles west of Delhi. C. R. L. IV, p. 18.

2. Rushbrook Williams, op. cit., 186-7.

3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 142.

bands fought with utmost zeal, conscious that they were making their own destiny, which at the same time the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of their master."¹

Humayun conquered Samthal, Jaunpur, Chharpur, and Kilyal; Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang captured Raikot; Muzaffar Khwaja captured Delhi; Kanauj was taken by Sultan Muhammad Daud; and Dholpur by Sultan Jamsat Barla. Sheikh Qasim of Kal (Domb) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bayazid—an important lieutenant of the Lodhi king—was granted a high worth a crore of rupees in Cash. Bayazid and Gulshar had refused to send Babur for fear of the Pilgrims; and the Lodhis and Faruqi chiefs who had championed the cause of Sultan Mahmud, retired away before Babur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khan Mewati died on the field of Khajana.²

When Babur left his gird on Hindostan, new beyond which he sent back Humayun to Badkhashan and other important efforts to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kandahar, ever since its final conquest in 1522, was in Kharizm's charge. Khwaja Kalin, Babur's old general, had been sent to Ghazni after the battle of Panipat. Akbar was established in Multan when it was conquered in 1557. Hindost was at Kalat.

In February, 1525, Babur wrote to Khwaja Kalin in Afghanistan: "The affairs of Hindostan have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here." But after the battle of Khajana, and before Babur could realise the hope here expressed, there were at least three more expeditions left to execute:—

1. *Muzaffar Ali of Chanderi*: "On Monday the 14th of the last Rabi, [Dec. 9, 1527] I set out in person of a war, on a holy war against Chanderi near Bilawal; . . . Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultan of Mitha. . . . When Rana Sangh advanced

1. *Forbush Williams*, op. cit., p. 142.

2. Babur bestowed on Hasan Khan's son a possess of several fars for his support . . . "I bestowed on Chao Tahir Sultan the city of Talara, which was the capital of Mitha, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty fars. . . . I bestowed the treasures of Akbar, with everything in the fort, upon Humayun." (E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 273-4.)

with an army against Bakhsh as far as Dihlaur, that prince's Aulais rose against him and on that occasion Chitardell fell into Saqai's hands. He borrowed it on Maidani Hill, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans.....I went to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamshad in exchange for Chitardell. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation,.....and the treaty broke off without success...So, the citadel was attacked on all sides. . . .Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason for this desperate rally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked,¹ in which condition they had rushed out to the field : and engaging with unyielding desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Maidani Koi's house, where numbers of them view each other. In this way many went to hell ; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three days, I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the northwest of Chitardell, I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans....I gave Chitardell to Ahmad Siddik, the grandson of Sultan Narai-ud-din, and fixed a revenue of fifty lars to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury." We also learn from Ahmad Yildiz : "So much plunder was taken from that heathen army" by the Aulais "that the King's troops obtained sufficient support there for years."

2. *Ajgha Babur* : On February 2, 1528, Babur set out to punish the Afghan rebels who had advanced from Bikan into Delhi, stormed Sharnahind,² and driven the Imperial garrison out of Kanouj. At Babur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and was—

1. Cf. Ahmad Yildiz who relates: "The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the concubines and family of the Raja, and dispatched them to the feet of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Raja, whose beauty was unequalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds; one to Mirza Iskander, the other to Prince Muhammad Hamidulla, and gave the others to the *Sardars* of the army." (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 281).

2. Ibid.

3. Babur had borrowed Shamshad in Bikaner, the second son of Rishi Saqai, in return for Rastanabhor. (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 281).

used as its left bank to dispute Bihār's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27; built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 13, put the insurgents to headlong flight, and boldly pursued them as far as Oudh. After this Bihār retired to Agra for the rainy season.

'On Thursday, the 3rd of the first Jumādā, I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahomet, the son of Dostoliz, had taken Bihār. On Thursday, the 13th, we marched eight kos, and halted at Dabdhā, a pargana of Kāsim, on the banks of the Ganges. . . . While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sakib Mahomet had gathered round him 120,000 Afghāns, and was moving upon Ghazir; that Sher Khan Mir, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several parganas, and where I left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghāns. . . . On the 26th, . . . it appeared that the rebels had come and laid siege to Ghazir; but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broken up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nizam Shah of Deccan*: After this the rebels sought refuge in Bengal. 'As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Bihār started negotiations with Nizam Shah, the ruler of Bengal. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum: 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own act; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstances that occurred.'

On May 6, 1626, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gagli (Bazir). The result was disastrous to the Bengalis: 'The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random.' On Bihār's side, 'the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had won more valued victory.'¹ A treaty of peace was concluded with

¹ *Lake-Poole*, op. cit., p. 162.

Tengal, according to which each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.¹

Shah Jihyari, who had throughout sided with the rebels, once more attacked Larkhau, but could not hold on for long: 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 15th of Rasseah, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the attack, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the musketeers, harpistons, and other combatants that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 16th Sharnad at midnight I reached the garden of Bask-dihla at Agra.

BABUR'S LAST DAYS

Babur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindustan, he had written to Khwaja Kalin in Afghanistan, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands ever be erased from the heart? Show me one like me, who has won abundance and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious sweets and grapes of that happy land? The other day they brought me a musk-melon; as I cut it up I felt a deep horse-sickness, and some of exile from my land, and I could not help weeping.'

Accordingly, he even set out and went as far as Lahore, where he met his son Kamran. He was disappointed at Humayun's failure against the Uzbeks. He had recalled Hiral, his youngest son, from Kabul. The strain of his endless campaigns, wanderings, and early drinking excesses, had told upon him, rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

'He had been known to take up a man under each arm, and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures; and even in March, 1529, he wrote: "I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met except only the Ganges." He was also perpetually

1. Cf. C. H. I., IV, p. 16.

in saddle, riding 50 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."¹

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Berigun Lodi's mother.² Now his strength was on the decline: even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to get aside Humāyūn, in favour of Mir Muhammad Mirhā Khān (Bilaur's sister's husband?). Humāyūn received a timely warning, and hurried to Agra, which he reached on Jan. 25, 1530, together with his mother.

"If God should grant you the throne and crown", Bilaur said to him, "do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." In the summer of 1530 Humāyūn fell dangerously ill. In this state he was carried from Sasābul to Delhi. Hearing of this, Bilaur tenderly expostured to Mirhān, Humāyūn's mother, "Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him because he has not his equal in distinction!"

Every school-boy knows the story how Bilaur bore away his son's illness and sacrificed himself in order to save Humāyūn. As the latter recovered the former became worse; and after two or three months Bilaur died, on Monday, December 26, 1530.³

Just before this he had called his Aśwā together and told them: "For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humāyūn and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things, but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humāyūn as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humāyūn will also bear himself well before men."

Then turning to Humāyūn he repeated his admonition to him regarding, in particular, the treatment of his brothers: "Humāyūn,

1. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

2. Buchanan Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-2. Also see S. M. Khan, *Bilaur*; *Pratibha and Pratap*, pp. 42-3. Bilaur, when he recovered from the effects of this poison, observed: "An evil accident has happily averted. God gave me one birth . . . I know to-day the worth of life!"

3. Read S. K. Sanyal, *Humāyūn Shikāhī*, p. 12; See B. Sharma, "The Story of Bilaur's Death" in the *Cabotia Review*, Sept. 1928.

I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people; and all of these I commit to you. . . . The dream of my testamentary direction is this: 'Do nought against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.'

By his own desire, Babur's body was carried to Kalah and buried there in 'the sweetest spot' on a hill-side, amidst beloved surroundings, a cool running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.¹

"Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror.

For now he lives in Fame."

ESTIMATE OF BABUR

Babur's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were 'a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling wisely the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice.'²

"Babur", writes Vincent A. Smith, "was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country."³

Harrell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of India."⁴

According to Elliot, "Good humoured, brave, magnanimous, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe."⁵

'In his person', writes Perishta, 'Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable.'⁶

Last but not the least, Babur's cousin Mirza Haider describes him as being 'adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which towered bravery and humanity. . . . Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents,

1. For interesting particulars read S. E. Denzell, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

2. Cited by Houghton Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

3. Smith, *O. M.*, p. 221.

4. Harrell, *Asiatic India in India*, p. 220.

5. E. & G., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 212.

6. Briggs II, p. 98.

nor any of his men perished with amazing exploits or experienced such strange adventures.¹

According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the

(1) Bihār is 'way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather

by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bihār was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. . . . His letters as well as his style were influenced by a breath of poetry."²

As a man of parts, the estimate of Bihār is inevitable: 'In the composition of Turki poetry he (Bihār) was second only to Amir Ali Shir. He has written a *Diwan* in the most lucid Turki. He invented a style of verse called *shabakhiya*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more elegant than any other and versified the *Kashaf-i-Fahdhiya* of His Reverence (2). Then there is his *Fakhr*, or Turki *Memoirs*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts."³

Bihār was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a keen naturalist, a keen and critical observer of man and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of autobiographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Memoirs* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and modes of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern

1. *Prithvi-Ratna*; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 13 n.

2. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., pp. 13, 14.

3. Bihār, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also invented a style of his own, which was called after him 'the *shabakhi* script'. To Humayun his advice was to 'write unallegorically clearly, with plain words, which were trouble to both writer and reader.' "The language of kings," he wrote, "is the king of languages." This is very aptly describes the quality of Bihār's own writings. For an appreciation of verse and letters under Bihār, read S. M. Jaffer, *The Akbarid Empire*, pp. 27-28.

traveller; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observes, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."¹

"No part of his character," Eusden points out, "is more admirable than his unflinching humanity and kindness of disposition. It is the course of his Memoirs some cruel associations appear, they belong to the age, not to the man. The historians of his reign remark, that whenever any officer of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offence and return to their duty than, to use the words of Kalfi Khān, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India, he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment."²

Elphinstone was pre-eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Scindia, even before entering the capital, he reverently visited the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious renunciation of wine before the battle of Ghatea was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

The history of Elphinstone that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself

[2] Elphinstone to a General.

"an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good swordsman, and a mighty hunter." Elphinstone was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtue of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private. What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the con-

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

2. Eusden, op. cit., pp. 524-5.

mandan and armies that were opposed to him. Above all, in his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquenchable fire of his ambition. 'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and bound away,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield.'

The following passage from his *Memoirs* is typical of his life:—

1507—"For about a week we went on tramping down the snow, yet was only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in tramping the snow: with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Kilian his and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at beating down the snow. Each step we took to the waist or the breast, but still we went on tramping it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were treading it down dragged forward a horse without a rider: the horse sank to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another: and thus ten or twenty of us tramped down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even our best men, many of them *dhips*—made along the road three hours down for them, hanging their heads: it was no time for carrying them or using *malikis*: if a man has plans and livelihood, he will fear forward to each mark of his own sword.

"That night the storm was terrible, and every bell so loudly that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain over the snow was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow! a crooked road! and even so they stamped down and trampled road, pitfalls for horses! The dogs at their shortest! The first article reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted whenever they happened to be: dark found many still in the outside. The cave seemed very small. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a green-carpet—near its mouth. I dug down better high, but did not reach the ground. They made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. I felt that for me to be in warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside, whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act and far from manliness. What strong men are proud, I should stand! As, as the Persian proverb says, "In the company of friends, death is a natural loss." So I remained to the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-hands thick on my head and back and ears.'

But, where strictness was called for, Shāh never hesitated: Fakhra observes, 'He even used violence to prevent outrage': 'It is certain', he adds, 'his personal show saved the honour of Daudat Khān's family.'¹ (when Shāh's men would have otherwise outraged it). Shāh preserved by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghid Khān (Daudat Khān's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.² Shāh himself records: 'Having learned that the troops had exercised some severity towards the inhabitants of Bahālik, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. As I reviewed the remnants that had belonged to the Turān as my own territory, I abstained of all plundering or pillage.'³

The Empire of Shāh extended from Badakhshān to Bengal,

from the Oxus to the Ganges: in India alone,

(3) Shāh as from Hindū (Hindū) in the west to Shīr in
India.

the east; from the Hindūyās in the north to

Chindes in the South. But 'I had not time . . . to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different provinces and nations'. Shāh was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organisation of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organise conquest and to organise administration are two different things; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shāh and Akbar possessed this, but not Shāh.

(i) To court danger and hardship, and show valour in arms;

(ii) To show indulgence and ease, as unbecoming of a King;

(iii) To consult Shīr and ministers; to avoid private parties; to call the court to public levees twice every day;

(iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army—these were the principles he had inculcated upon Humāyūn; and they seem to have nearly exhausted Shāh's kingly code. He was,

1. We have already noted how he heroically provided his Indian Legion with shelter after the Sultan's death at Pānīpat.

2. Briggs, II, p. 43.

3. E. & O., op. cit., p. 333.

no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his *Memoirs* :—“Every time that I have entered Hissahda, the Jits and Gajars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and mounds, in order to carry off cows and buffaloes. These were the articles that really induced the chief landlords, and were guilty of the several oppressions in the country. These chieftains (in the Parikh) in former times, had been in a state so much and yielded very little revenue that could be done at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be put in prison.”

Another instance of Babur's ruthlessness in putting down marauders is also recorded by Ahmad Yildiz : “When he reached Sirhind, one of the Jits of Samana complained to him that Mohan Mundaŕ had attacked his estate and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed Ali Kuli Hamadani, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Mundaŕ had done to the petitioner. . . . Nearly a thousand of the Mundaŕ were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads ; and Mohan was taken alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Sultan. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 360 years in the province of Kaithal ; but was then made and still continues to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Delhi, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Mundaŕ was buried in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows. Such was the respect for the army which this produced among the people of Hind that thenceforth no one ventured either to rebel or dissent.”

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions ; e.g., he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Agra and Kabul, establishing a regular series of post-

houses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.¹

Perkins says, "Whenever he marched, he always caused work to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of Hindostan to this day; and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distance has hitherto remained in force The *gar* Sikandar or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he ruled India, was superseded by the *Bahar* *gar*² which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jahāngīr Shāhshāh."³

Being a man of high æsthetic tastes, Bahar also delighted in erecting beautiful bridges and buildings, aqueducts and bridges. 'In April, 1556,' he writes, 'I every day employed on my palace 600 persons; and in April, 1561, Bāghra, Dhalpān, Gwalior and Kand, there were every day employed on my works 1400 stone-cutters.'⁴

Ahmad Yādgar writes: "In the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jamunā.... he passed his time in that garden, in company with Magial companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and dancing, in the presence of enchanting dancing-girls with rosy cheeks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments" Mirza Kāseerā also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lahore.

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of Asia. 'The chief excellence of Hindostān,' he noted, 'is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver.' This brought him a large revenue, utilising the old machinery of collection, and no new organisation of Bahar's creation. So, 'the countries from Bahar to Bidar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 52 lakhs (lakhā), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *paragana* is the value of 6 or 7 lakhs are in the possession of some *Amils* or *Rajās*, who from

1. "Postboys were introduced into Hindostān for the first time they not having been in use before." *Ibid.* p. 38.

2. He fixed 100 *manas* for 1 *gar*.

1 *manas* = 40 *gar*.

1 *gar* = 5 (*manas* or *das*)

or 1 *gar* = 4000 *yaqs* = over 5½ miles. (Zilga, II, pp. 66-7).

3. *Ibid.*

4. H. & D., op. cit., V, p. 34.

old times have been submissive, and have received those persons for the purpose of conforming them to their obedience.'*

So much we are able to know from Bâbar's own direct testimony; the rest is mostly inference.¹ However, the following abstract of the description of Bâbar's administration by Erskine,² ought to prove useful to the reader :—

1. *Ibid.*, IV., p. 188; also Edward Thomas, *Chronicle of the Padshah Kings of Delhi*, pp. 347-56. "Everything considered", Erskine put it at "14,500,000 as the amount of Bâbar's annual revenue; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect." Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

Thomas' estimate is 1,600,000 silver tankas or 12,800,000. Here it may also be pointed out that Bâbar was responsible for the introduction of anonymous coinage in India :

"The practice of striking coin in subordinate states," Thomas writes, "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Moghuls, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultan's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

Bâbar's introduction of so much of the leading ideas of his Turkish country into Hindustan was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coin of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more stately mounted subjects and subjects, in which he retrograded local practices.

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 160 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Padshah house, 50 of which went to the old *tanakâ*, 4 to the modified *Shanderl*, and 32 to the foreign *Bâbari* and *Shah Zâdi*." (*Id.*, p. 214).

2. We also get occasional glimpses of Bâbar's administration in statement like the following in Ahmad Yildiz's *Padshah-Shahîrî* *Alphân* :—

"That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other and collection was appointed in various places. Orders were issued for sending *khâshî* and asking money, and a *hâj* was bestowed upon the formerly *Shâhân*

"The *khâshân*, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindustan, at last prevailed . . . *Amir Khâshî*, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority usurped the government, and his chosen were the chief of the *khâshî khân*." (*E. & D.*, *op. cit.*, V., pp. 22-23).

3. Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

"Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and secluded valleys, his army was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them; and justice was satisfied with some easy acknowledgment which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the Khalid was equal in his name; but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of the Indus, all the Punjab, including Multan, and to the south and east of the Satlej, the rich provinces of Elachindia lying between the river and Hindu on the one side, and the Hindilaga mountains and the countries of the Rajput and of Malwa on the other, were subject to him; the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortress of Bayana, Buzardshah, Gollor, and Chanderi. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Hindu, some portion of it, especially the hilly or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the services of the Afghans or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire, the Rajput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Malwa, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

"There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

"We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the taxes then levied. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly raised on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

"Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *Mugh* or *stapan*, over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but the exercise of such rights as belonged to the government. The *iqbalid* or holder of the *Mugh*, was property in *Mahmud* times, namely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

"Besides the land-tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *lewgha*, or stamp,

was the mark by which, on cattle and in goods, the payment of the *dan* was ascertained. There were transit *dan*s on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns; and, in parts of the country where the Muhammadans had a confirmed and sole ascendancy, the *Asiya* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Muhammadans.¹

Bābur was, with all his virtues, a Muhammadan Emperor.² When he had killed the Pagans (as he called the Hindus) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the dedication of his orthodox followers. He considered the war against the Rajputs as *Jihad* or 'holy war' and assumed the title of *Chāhid*, after his victory at Chānua. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rajputs at Chāndar as 'going to hell.' When he revisited the temple after his penitence and vow to renounce wine, it was only Muhammadans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chāndar, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the mosques in Chāndar, Bānaghat, Rastanāthar and Kāthiā, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-stalls, by Medini Rai's orders.' Bābur himself stated on his conquest of Chāndar, that he converted 'the passions of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith.' All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the Bhopal MS.,³ ascribed to Bābur.

1. Cf. "Akbar and the Hindus" by S. K. Banerji in the *Journal of the U. P. Soc. Sci.* IX, pt : II, 1936.

2. It reads:

"O my son! People of diverse religious inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanksgiving to God that the King of Kings has entrusted the government of this country to you.

It therefore behoves you that:-

(I) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities.

(II) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(III) You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be forthcoming so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

(Or) The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

But to say this is not to allege the contrary. Bihār was beyond question a man of deep faith in God; but his belief in Islam must have set comparatively light on his mind. He had abjured his orthodox and become a Shia to win the support of the Shah of Persia to his cause.¹ At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quondam orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted sovereign. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turki Amla who had enlisted in his service.

'On Thursday, the 18th Shaban, I called the Amla', he writes, 'both Turki and Hindu, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river.' This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1529).

At least six Hindu Rajas, and among them Raja Bhikansih of Ramandir (second son of Raja Sangh), accepted Bihār's sway and paid their tribute.²

To conclude: 'Unfortunately Bihār, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts, found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely, that of parceling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same: the monarchy, having created

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnis; otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

(vi) Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from dissent."

This is a translation by Dr. Sped Mahomed, of a document in the Aligarh Sansa Library supposed to be Bihār's confidential will and testament to his son Humayun. (*The Indian Review*, Aug. 1904). For the text and a more recent version of the same see *The Twentieth Century* for January 1905, pp. 339-44.

1. Sir Denison Ross, while characterizing Bihār as a 'rigid Sunni,' also appreciates his 'moral courage' in adopting the Quibbiat heredocies in this connection, though even a 'purely political' motive. See C. H. I., IV, p. 38.

2. E. & D., op. cit. IV, pp. 582-88. Cf. E. M. Schwartz, *Bihār as State and Empire*, pp. 40-41.

an artificial barrier between itself and the local administration, lost little by little all its authority, until last of all its prestige departed, and the throne became the prey for contending factions. The great *Amir* on the other hand, gained what the crown lost. During the reign of Shāhur this does not become apparent, partly because he was invested with the prestige of a conqueror; partly because the time was too short for the consequences of his policy to make themselves felt. Even before he died, however, the symptoms of radical unreason in the administration are not far to seek. The old haphazard financial system entirely failed to provide means for the upkeep of the professional soldiers, like the mamluks and mamlūkdoms, who were paid directly from the royal revenue. Having distributed with lavish generosity the royal hoards in Delhi and Ajlā, Shāhur suddenly found himself with an empty treasury.¹ For the moment the deficit was met by a levy of 20 per cent on the revenues of all great officers. But in the time of Hamsiyān there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dismemberment of a dynasty.²

SHAHUR'S FAMILY



AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMER: (1) *Rumelyon-Nama* of Hamsiyān's sister, Gulistan Begum, has already been noticed. She wrote this between 1580 and 1590 A.D. at Akbar's instance. Prof. Ganga writes, "I have found this book very useful, especially as regards dates and events of Hamsiyān's life. She is generally trustworthy with the exception of a few cases. The foot-notes given by Mrs. Beveridge here as well as in the translation of Shāhur's *Munawwar* should not be so readily accepted as her translation of the text."

1. "By this time," Shāhur wrote in Oct. 1578, "the treasure of Iskander and Ibrahim in Delhi and Ajlā was at an end." See G. E. Bailey, *Hamshāhī Jahāngīr* p. 8.

2. *Hamshāhī Jahāngīr*, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

(ii) *Maṣṣaf al-Nawādir* of Kamālud-dīn, also called Khwāṣṣ al-Nawādir. The author was intimately acquainted with Humāyūn, and died in Gujarat in 1544-5 during Humāyūn's campaign there. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Humāyūn in the early part of his reign." The writer received from the Emperor the title of *Asir-i-Akhlāq* or 'the noble historian.'

(iii) *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* of Jauhar, Humāyūn's personal attendant, who wrote his reminiscences 30 years later, in Akbar's reign. Prof. Ghalib considers this work "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Humāyūn, and having greater weight than that of Gulbadan even"—at least up to Humāyūn's departure from Thatta to Kamālūd. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jauhar's own preface is worth quotation:

"I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person: it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the most interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 968 (A. D. 1587) and have named it the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, or *Relation of Occurrences*."

"The *Maṣādir* bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biographers are prone." (Dowson)

(iv) *Tadhkirat-i-Bahādd* of Ibrāhīm Ḥaidar, already noticed, is also valuable for its intimate studies of Humāyūn. Ibrāhīm Ḥaidar wrote his work relating to Humāyūn in 1541-42 A.D. He was personally present at the battle of the Ganges (Bāghrān or Kanauj), when Humāyūn fought against Sher Shāh. After this disastrous rout at Kanauj, he endeavoured to induce Humāyūn to secure a refuge in Kashmir.

(v) *Tadhkirat-i-Akhlāq* of Mīrṣā-dīn Aḥmad is a very valuable work. The chapter on Humāyūn is the most valuable for us here. "His style has a simple elegance, natural flow and charm of its own unrivalled for many generations." Mīrṣā-dīn was *khāṣṣ* under Akbar and his father had served under Humāyūn. The incentive for writing it was that he had "from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works

of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men, of education, and of affording instruction by example to men of observation.'

Downes observes : " This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognised by all contemporary historians, as a standard history : subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely Forchhammer states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete."

B. SPENCER : *Enquiry*, " *History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Bâbur and Humâyun.*" Vol. II.

DR. N. K. BANERJEE, *Humâyun Bahadur*, (Calcutta) L. Press, 1882.. This contains a good bibliography on Humâyun at the end.

More—For other works bearing on the life of Humâyun, see Introduction on Star 226.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION

'The world is his who earns himself.'

'Fall not to quit yourself miserably to men every
contingency : boldness and ease agree ill with slothful.'

SAFAR-NAHAR.

The Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Bâbur was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an edifice depends upon its lay-stone ; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Humâyun's loss and re-acquisition of his heritage are not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. They are also instructive as showing the vital dependence of the Empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Humâyun's life divides itself into four clear periods : (I) Early Life, up to his Accession (1526-30) ; (II) Struggle to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40) ; (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-1555) ; and (IV) Restoration and Death (1555-56).

I. EARLY LIFE (1808-32)

Hamdulla was born on Zaidada 4, 913 H/ya (March 6, 1808) in the shade of Khatul.

(1) Birth and Admission. He received the throne, at April, on First Rabiul 2, 917 H/ya (December 28, 1807) at the age of twenty-three,—four days after the death of Babur.

Khwakizadeh writes: 'The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Sunk and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World. On Friday, the 6th of the said month, in the *first Masid* at April the Masid was read in the name and title of this noble King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.'¹

The *Talash-i-Akbari* records: 'On the death of the Emperor Babur, Prince Hamdulla, who arrived from Samkhal, succeeded the throne at April, with the support of *Amir Nizam-d din Ali Khan*, on the 9th *Jumada-awwal*, 937 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The mansabs and offices which were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented.'²

(a) On the death of his uncle, Khan Mirak, in 1530, Hamdulla, at the age of twelve, was appointed to

(2) Appointed to the government of Badakshan. Babur himself visited the province, together with Hamdulla's mother, to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(b) When Babur invaded India, in 1526, Hamdulla joined him with a contingent from Badakshan.

(c) In this campaign, too, Hamdulla won his maiden victory over a force from Hindu-Potra, which was on its way to join Bahlul Lodi (1526).³

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 118.

2. Ali Khan had favoured Muhi Khwaja's suggestion; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind see E. & D., loc. cit., V, pp. 127-28. Note also on the same page the discrepancy in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The consistency of the notices referred to here must have been only skin-deep in the case of several of them.

3. In a footnote to Babur's *Memoirs*, Hamdulla notes that on March 6, 1508 he was at Samkhal, on the left bank of the Samkhal, on his

(d) After Pledget, Humayūn, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 750,000 *ahar* (about 250,000).

(e) Humayūn then, after this, led the army against the Afghān insurgents in the east, and captured Sarbhal, Jampur, Chaurpāl, and Kilipl.

(f) At the battle of Khinās (1527) Humayūn led the right wing of the Maghal army and was well rewarded.¹

(g) In 1528, when he was back in Badakhshān, Bābur wrote to him (Nov. 12) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Hissar, Samarkand, or Nisā, as may be most available. . . . This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. Fail not to quit yourself manfully to meet every emergency; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.' He also tendered him much good advice in the same letter, urging Humayūn, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Khizr-khan; not to complain of loneliness in Badakhshān, as it was unworthy of a prince; to consult his *Wazirs* and ministers, particularly Khusrū Kāfī; to avoid private parties; but to call the court to public levees twice daily; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'²

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Bābur, Humayūn precipitately returned to India in

(3) Return to India. 1539. Bābur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son: 'I was just talking with his mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in Mā hazaar, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his

way to Pledget, and this same day the same or similar were first applied to his head.' As my honoured father mentioned in the commemorative line of his first using the turban, in *harkat* emulation of him I have told the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammad Humayūn am transcribing a copy of these *Mawsūf* from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.'—(Lace-Peole, op. cit., p. 46 n.).

1. With Akbar (Shirazi), from Khān Khwārd's possession.

2. Lace-Peole, loc. cit., p. 187.

conversation had an irresistible charm, and he realised absolutely the ideal of perfect mastery.¹ But why did Hamidylān desert his charge?

The reasons were three: (i) His own failures against the
 (ii) Absentive Unluks who were making fresh incursions;
 (iii) Akbar's falling health, and his call to Hindū-
 (iv) Conspiracy-āli from Kābul to be by his side; and (v)
 His conspiracy at Agra to supersede Hamidylān.

This last was in favour of Mir Muhammad Mahdī Khwāṣā who was Akbar's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Kābul, where Hamidylān led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value to us, since it proved abortive. But as Hackstovius Williams observes, "that the scheme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Akbar's fortitude in body and mind."² He also contradicts Mir Haidar's statement that Akbar had recalled Hamidylān, for which he gives the following reasons:—(i) The appearance of Hamidylān at Agra surprised everyone at Agra; (ii) Akbar was expecting Hindū and would never have recalled both sons at the same time; (iii) no successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshān; (iv) Hamidylān was asked by his father to return to his charge.³

Hamidylān had met Kāwās and Hindū at Kābul; and they had agreed that, in view of the grave conspiracy which was afoot at Agra, Hamidylān should hasten to the capital and Hindū should take his place in Badakhshān. Ultimately, Akbar sent Sulaimān Mirān to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy nipped in the bud, Hamidylān spent some time on his estate in Samāṭ. Then followed his illness and Akbar's affectionate service on Monday 26, 1606. Before this happened Akbar had commanded Hamidylān to his robes in unreluctant terms: "Now when I am

1. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

2. Hackstovius Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 172 n. 2. Cf. S. K. Rana's, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10. The circumstances that attended Hamidylān's accession have been well discussed by Dr. Rana in Ch. II of his book. The date of Hamidylān's accession, viz. 26 Dec. 1606 (i.e. four days after Akbar's death) is also assumed for by him.

held her by direct, I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of our heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well towards me."

But, no sooner was Bābur's breath stifled in death, or, to use Khushdar's phrase, "left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven," than Humayun's troubles began.

B. STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN HIS INHERITANCE (1556-60)

Bābur had bequeathed to Humayun "a congeries of territories, circumvented by any bond of union or of common interest, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasty which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindustan."¹ Bābur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Mīlāl and Gajrat, now united under one king (Badrīdar Shāh), to the south. The many chiefs of Rājputāna were bowed but not subdued, and in most of the outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognised.²

(a) AFGHANS

Numerous Afghan officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghans but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sulṭān Muḥammad Lodī) appeared amongst them in Bīlār, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an eighth part of all India—Humayun was not secure from rebels and revolts.³

The principal rallying centre for these Afghans who were all "ripe for revolt", was:

(1) Muḥammad Lodī: the brother of Bīlādar, whom Bābur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghan nobility, Dīban and Bīrpanḍ, who though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Bīlār,

1. Malleson, *Atlas*, p. 48.

2. For a more detailed appreciation of the situation read S. K. Basu, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

3. Lane-Poole, *Mughal India*, pp. 216-22.

were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mubarak Lodī, also supported him.

(1) *Shēr Khān* Shēr, who was "the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghan party," had joined the rebels even during the last days of Dillī, although the latter had bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several passages and put him in command in the east.¹ He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt, as indicated by his following statement:—

"If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindūstān; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case... they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend."

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Shēr Khān, who was soon to drive Hindūstān into exile and occupy his throne.

(2) *Alau Khān* or *Allā-d dīn Lodī*, the uncle of Dillīshāh, was one of those that invited Bābur to India, fought against his nephew at Pāndpur. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshān. Since the death of Bābur, *Allā-d dīn* had effected his escape, and sought refuge with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat.

"Without any open declaration of war with Hindūstān, Bahādur Shāh liberally supplied *Allā-d dīn* with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son *Tīmūr Khān*. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and *Tīmūr Khān* fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful to the desertion."²

The career of Bahādur Shāh, up to the death of Bābur, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter

1. *Khan*, op. cit., p. 78.

2. *Alphinstone*, op. cit., p. 442.

not ready to Alla-d din Lodi, but also to another of Humayun's rivals, presently to be noticed. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his southern neighbours, Bahadur Shah, who was ruler of Gujarat and Malwa, "was actively pressing his triumphs over the Rajputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Agra."

(4) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghans, Humayun had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Muhammad Zaman* was the grandson of Sultan Hussain of Bheri, and had married his cousin Ma'Suma, a step-daughter of Humayun. He had shown himself a capable general in Babur's campaigns.

(ii) *Muhammad Salim Mirza* was also a descendant of Timur and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorasān by a daughter. From his royal birth and station, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khan*, a brother-in-law,¹ of Babur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has already been noticed. Babur's prime-minister and life-long friend, Khalifa² was

1. "He naturally wished for some political trouble to unshackle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be directed to that quarter, and Bahadur might then be given a free hand to deal with the Rajputs. He crossed the eastern borders of Hindustan and saw the chaos gathering in South India which leded (il) to the Mughal Empire. He thought of establishing Star Khan and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (Qasranga, *Star SHAH*, p. 106.)

2. "He was the husband of Babur's full sister, *Khatun* Begum." (Ferdowsi *Wafana*, op. cit., p. 100.) Both *Alamgir Yalghar* and *Nisamud din Ahmad Raza* (in the passage cited in n. 2 below) speak of him as Babur's son-in-law. (I. & D., op. cit., p. 100.) Both *Qasr Begum* and *Ferdowsi* describe him as brother-in-law. See S. K. Rana, op. cit., p. 24.

3. His full name was "Jalal Nisamud din Ali Khan." The *Fatah-i-Akbari* states:—*Jalal Nisamud din Ali Khan* was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humayun and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not friendly with the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahdi Khan* was an-in-law (?) of the late

interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Khotan, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Humayun led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the former Emperor.

(iv) Khamir Mirza was the most dangerous of all Humayun's brothers. He was in charge of Kibul and Kandahar at the time of Babur's death. Babur, as we have noticed, had commanded Humayun "to act handsomely by his brother Khamir." Akbar and Haidar were the other two brothers of Humayun. Euphemistic remarks, "From his having assigned no share to his younger children, it is probable that Babur did not intend to divide the Empire; but Khamir showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humayun, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his own and disaffected provinces." "Poor weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Akbar and Haidar were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."¹

(v) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HUMAYUN

Surrounded as Humayun was with acute and powerful enemies on every side, what was most necessary in him was 'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Humayun lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and solidly genius." On the north-west was Khamir, 'a sorry ill-conditioned traitor, unworthy of Babur's trust,' and the most formidable of Humayun's brothers. On the east were the Afghans under Mahmud Lodi and Sher Khan. On the south was Bahadur Shah, supporting the pretenders.

"The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatai,

Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mir Khamir, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mirza Khamir. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs" (R. & D., op. cit.).

¹ Euphemistic, op. cit., p. 471.

² Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.

³ Ibid., p. 218.

Uzbek, Maghal, Persian, Afghan, and Indian. Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Babur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Timur, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side.—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhara, Hindu, Balkh and Hindostan itself,—were the theatre occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more distinguished than themselves. . . . Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to turn the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.¹

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of great importance. But Humayun, though he possessed all the humane virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can win the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances: his fallacy was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but unwieldy democracy. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, meeting the most pressing danger first, and crushing one antagonist before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength; he left one enemy unwatched behind him while he turned to meet another; and when victory by chance rewarded his courage, rather than his tactics, he rejoiced upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort. . . . Humayun's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Raza Banga, and Babur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humayun weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."²

On the day of Humayun's accession, Mirza-ul-din Ahmad writes, 'Mishal Hindul arrived from Badakhshan and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures

¹ Division of the Empire.

1. Baskin, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

2. Caro-Paoli, op. cit., p. 122.

(46) Khosrau) of former kings. The territories were then divided : (i) Mirza Hindal received the district of Mirat. (Ahwal) in 949; (ii) the Panjāb, Kābul, and Kandahār were settled as the *shāh* of Mirat Kābul; (iii) Samāhal was given to Mirza Askeri; (iv) every one of the Asirs also received an increase of his *shāh*; (v) According to the Akbar Nāma, Mirza Salimkha was confirmed in Badakhshan....

Note.—The great wonder in this distribution was in leaving the rebellious Kābulis in charge of the most vital part of Babur's dominions. By this error Humāyūn was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humāyūn's part," writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kābulis could henceforward, as Roxburgher Williams observed, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hind-Pitān was a blunder, for it gave Kābulis command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandahār."¹

III. EARLY OCCUPATIONS

(i) "After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty, proceeded to Kābuljar, the *Tājik* of which place exposed his treachery, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne."

1. At first he had been retained in his possession of Kābul and Kandahār alone. But Kābulis not being satisfied with Kandahār in the possession of Askeri, and marched for Hindkush. Humāyūn then added Panjāwar and Langha to his grant. "But Kābulis's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession." He soon marched up to and besieged Lahore as well. Humāyūn, surrounded as he was with great difficulties, confirmed him in his new acquisition. A *shāh* was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kābulis the government of Mirat, Kandahar, and the Panjāb: "a grant which added that prince to the procession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." Kābulis, who had a taste for poetry, favoured Humāyūn with a line ode, and extracted out of him the rich province of Hind-Pitān as well. This was an important grant, and most welcome to Kābulis, as it lay nearly on the high-road between his possessions in the Panjāb and Delhi.

2. Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Bhopalsingh, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

3. According to Bellmont, the fort was captured after a siege lasting for a month.—(E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 186, n. 3). The date assigned is May-June, 1550.—(Erdshir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50. See C. K. Senari, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

(2) "In those days, Sultan Mahmud (son of Sultan Iskander Lodī), with the assistance of Bābur, Bāzaid, and the Afghan soldiers, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jampir and its dependencies. Humāyūn now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success,¹ he returned victorious to Agra. There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with water-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons."

Note.—Though such pomp was not unknown to Bābur,² Humāyūn's already depleted treasury could ill-afford such extravagance.

1. Sultan Mahmud Lodī and his Afghan supporters were defeated at Deuch on the river Ghazī, about 25 miles north of Jampir. Abū Khān mentions the place as *Lucknow*; Deuch is mentioned by Jushar. The following two extracts from these writers give the details:—

"His Majesty (Humāyūn)," writes Jushar, "after successive marches, reached Deuch on the river Ghazī, when the above-mentioned rebels, with a large army, came towards that place; the rebels were defeated. . . . Bābur, Bāzaid, and all the chiefs and refractory ones were slain" (tried by Quatrop, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

"The two armies," says Abū Khān, "met near Lucknow. . . . As Abū Bāzaid had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and confused, he also was slain in that battle. Sultan Mahmud and other chiefs, being defeated, fled to the kingdom of Bihār. The Sultan had neither money nor territory to establish a base of his own and his soldiers who had placed him as the Prince were most of them killed in the battle at Lucknow, while the few who remained, were from their quarters dispersed. Sultan Mahmud was greatly given to dancing-women, and passed most of his time in amusing himself, and as he had no power to oppose the Afghans, he abdicated his royalty, and settled himself in the province of Panā, and never again attempted the throne"—E. & O., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 359.

2. E.g. "In the third year, His Majesty (Bābur) proceeded towards Lāhor. At Sāhib he was met by the Rājā of Kāthiā, who presented him seven talents, and three mace of gold, and was conferred in the audience of that place. When the King's camp reached Lāhor, Bihār Khānā was honoured in the presence, and he brought the ambassadors of the vicinity to kiss the feet of the conqueror of the world. The King's encampment was located in the environs of Lāhor, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Bihār Khānā, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the tent. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Bihār Khānā, dressed in silk and brocade, decked like bridegrooms; and the

at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the time of Humayun," says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of feudal breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the debasement of a dynasty."¹ Humayun's behaviour on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) 'At this time Muhammad Salim Mirza, . . . who had originally come from Balkh to seek refuge with His late Majesty, rose all himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayana, and placed in the custody of Yildiz Tughai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yildiz Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat.'

(iv) 'About the same time Muhammad Salim Mirza, with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion.'

(v) 'His Majesty sent a poem with letters to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat demanding the surrender of Muhammad

The Gujarat man Zamin Mirza, to which he returned a Campaign.

roughly refused, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance.' This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarat and chastise Sultan Bahadur. He proceeded to Gadhara and there passed two months in making extensions and hunting' (1522).

(E) When Humayun finally marched against Bahadur Shah, camps, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring, elephants adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal entourage. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and dandies, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Samsar Lodhi. The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Punjab afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mirza Husain came from Kabul. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mirza Husain returned to Kabul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.—*Shah Jahan*, E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 48.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

E. For an account of the nature of the correspondence between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, and other diplomatic relations see Fawcett, *op. cit.*, Ch. II, (pp. 86-117).

that prison was long with the siege of Chitor¹ (1534). At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Saif Khān, who was the chief of the soldiers, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musulmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musulmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. When the Emperor had passed through Mithā and had come to Sīrangānā, he was informed of this; so he rested there.²

Note—This was Humāyūn's third great blunder. It was a double failing; timely assistance might have won over the Rājā as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Gujarat; if attacked at once, Bahādur Shāh might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Salīm Bahādur carried on the siege of Chitor at his own, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humāyūn then, hearing of this, marched against Bahādur Shāh and met him at Mandasāh. The King of Gujarat again called a council of war. Saif Khān advised going forth, but Rūst Khān who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (*top*) and rockets (*topang*). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Mōra, no other potentate could equal them. Salīm Bahādur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'

¹ 'The Rājā in his distress dispatched an army to ask succour from Humāyūn. Humāyūn, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Chitor, as if to assist the Rājā. There he encamped for about two months and asked Bahādur Shāh to desist from his attack on Chitor and give up the fortress he was besieging. Bahādur desired was complied with. Humāyūn with some loss of expectation, soon after departed, compelled to remove disturbances in Jaipur and Bikaner. The Rājā dropping of assistance bought peace of Bahādur Shāh (Erskin, op. cit., pp. 14-15).

² 'Frustrated with the recent victory the Gujarat's might probably have overwhelmed Humāyūn's army, on which the infidels as well as the agents of the deity had exerted their usual influence; but the triumph

For two months Humāyūn did nothing but eat off the supplies of the enemy. Famine ensued in the enemy's camp. 'The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Salīm Bahādur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the position and went towards Mīlādī with five of his most trusty adherents.... When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.'

(iv) Humāyūn pursued Bahādur Shāh to Mīlādī and besieged the fort. 'Salīm Bahādur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujardī took to flight. Salīm Bahādur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujardī, and Saif Khān and Salīm Alam (Lad) threw themselves into the fort of Sangar, which is the citadel of Mīlādī. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Saif Khān was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Alam Khān.'

(v) 'Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujardī. Salīm Bahādur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Chāmpānī, and these he carried off to Akhar-dād. (He set fire to the town before leaving Chāmpānī.) Humāyūn pursued him up to Cambay. On his way he took Akhar-dād, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil.' Bahādur Shāh ultimately escaped to the island of Dāu.

Note—Humāyūn, instead of following up his success and finishing with the fugitive, marched to Chāmpānī. This was his fourth blunder.

(vi) Chāmpānī¹ was no doubt taken (1535-6), Humāyūn himself with Baisam Khān scaling the fort at night its most abject

of the heavy artillery in the siege of Chātur had given under weight to the advice of the Ottoman engineer, the 'Fīrūd Khān' who had worked the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners; and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Seringapat, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders' (Rais-Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 324).

1. July 1535. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humāyūn arrived, and 'encamped on the shore of the salt sea,' which none of his successes had ever seen.

2. Chāmpānī: This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that rises covering out of the level plain, in the south-east portion of

side, with the help of steel spikes driven into the eaves of the rock. "Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed." Bahadur Shikā, who held a high position among the Gajaktis, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometrist and astronomer. He was also of some renown as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahadur Shikā had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Humāyūn instead of getting the secret out of him by torture, procured in great use of wine : the man was invited to an entertainment ; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good drink,' he revealed the secret. The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a reservoir.¹

"The gold was divided among the soldiers—so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rome, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gajakti had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no prince attempted to collect revenue that year in Gajakti."²

(vii) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadābād, in favour of Bahadur Shikā. But Mīrāsī Akbarī who was at Mubarrakpūr was over them in easy victory. "More than two thousand men were killed in the battle."³

Gajakti and is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to attack. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other ; while the extensive, and at the same time magnificent town of Mubarrakpūr—Chāmpānī extended on one side along its base. Humāyūn invested it valiantly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

"The great strength of this place, the numerous garrisons, and the 'richness and stores of the treasure by which its capture was achieved,' were forfeited. I render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history."⁴—(Briggs, II, p. 79).

1. Rishmīnaga, op. cit., p. 441 n.

2. Cf. Furlana ; Briggs, II, p. 80.

3. The author of this work (Futūkh-i-Akbarī) heard from his father who was then master of Mīrāsī Akbarī, that at midday, when it was

(viii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmednagar and its dependencies upon Mirāl Asafī in Jyē, Dāra upon Mirā Yādgar Mīrā, and Bārah upon Mirāl Hīndī Bāg. Tārī Bāg received Chāmpārān, and Kīrīr Hāmīrā obtained Baroda. Kīrīr Jāhān Shīrāl and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Bārkhānā, and from thence to Mīrāl.¹

"Mīrāl and Gajātī—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Hamayūn's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Never was conquest so easy. Never, too, was conquest more profitably expended money."² (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 191.)

Note: This was Hamayūn's fifth great blunder in this direction. Instead of ensuring the settled government of the conquered provinces he was content to assign his various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasures. "The Emperor Hamayūn," says Mirān-dīn Ahmad, "remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure."³

(ix) Meanwhile, both Gajātī and Mīrāl were rapidly lost (1555-56).

"One night Mirāl Asafī in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Just at this period Hīndī Bāg had convinced Mirāl Asafī to have the Akshar redited and coin struck in his name, and set up his claim to independence, expecting that "he

immediately lost, the Gajātīs came hastily out of Ahmednagar... Mirāl Yādgar Mīrā and Shīrāl Hīndī Bāg came up in due order, with their forces, and the Gajātīs took to flight."—(G. B. D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 194.)

1. Ferishta adds: "In this state of affairs, Ibrahim Nizam Shāh, Ismā'il Khān, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Hamayūn had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the invasions raised in the north by Shāh Hāmā."—(Ruggs, III, pp. 83-1).

2. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

3. "On the return of Hamayūn to his capital, it was observed that he gave very more than ever to the excessive use of opium: public business was neglected; and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandizement."—(Ruggs, II, p. 82).

4. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 194.)

accept in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mirza Asker did not accept this advice; but Tardi Beg, . . . sent a messenger to Humayun, to inform him that Mirza Asker had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Agra and proclaim himself King.¹

Akbarshah and other princes revolted in favour of Bahadur Shah, who soon returned from Diu with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.² Mirza Asker and the *Amirs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired. . . . But before Mirza Asker returned from Akbarshah, the new advisers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mirza Hirs Beg had made to the Mirza for his assuming the crown, and although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entered into hostile designs' (1555-58).

Humayun left Mirza, and reached Agra before Asker. Although not received, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. That the countries of Mitha and Gujarat, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so long an exile, were now abandoned without a struggle.'³

Note—This 'beautiful but unwise clemency' towards his brothers was to prove Humayun's ruin.

(1) When Sultan Bahadur was deposed, Humayun had sent away Muhammad Zarin Mirza to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. That pretender hid away in Lahore, when up to court of trouble in Kandahar. Khorasān had left the Empire temporarily. When Muhammad Zarin heard of the Emperor's return to Agra, he again took refuge in Gujarat. Khorasān meanwhile recovered Kandahar from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.⁴

1. *Notes d'Orléans*, the Portuguese Viceroy, offered Bahadur Shah a force of 500 Companies in return for allowing them to harry Diu and important trade concessions. Later Bahadur Shah was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1557, at the age of 35. But Humayun took no advantage of the death of his inveterate enemy which put Gujarat into disorder.

Dr. Sauer attributes the general revulsion of feelings against Humayun in Mithra and Gujarat to Humayun's indulgence in excessive crafty. See *Sauer*, op. cit., pp. 126-4.

2. *Forbes*: *Reigns*, II, p. 83.

3. *E. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 188.

Shah Khán has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghan revolt against the Mughals. His early life and career will be

The battle
conferred with Shah
Khán.

more fully dealt with in the next chapter. Here only his relations with Humáyún will be

considered.

(1) By the end of 1531 Shah Khán had made himself master of the province of South Bihar, and occupied the important stronghold of Chauri¹ near (Bardhaman). In that year, Humáyún, before marching south against Bahádur Sháh, but after the defeat of Mahmúd Lodí at Daurah, encountered Shah Khán for the first time.² The TÁRIKH-I SHAH of Abdu Khán gives the following account of this event :—

"When Humáyún had overcome Sultan Mahmúd, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Sháh Beg to take Chauri from Shah Khán, but Shah Khán declined to give it up to him. When he heard this, Humáyún commanded his victorious standards to be set on fire and moved towards Chauri....The army of Humáyún besieged Chauri....Shah Khán knew that the Emperor would be unable to deter him in those parts for his spies brought him word that Bahádur Sháh the King of Gujarat, had conquered the kingdom of Málwa and was meditating the seizure of Delhi and would shortly declare war.³ Humá-

1. The fort of Chauri stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhyá Mountains which extend to the same river near Mirzapúr. From that neighbourhood the hills slope westwards, by the foot of Rohita and Shághird, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpúr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihar and Bengal, and rise up the coast along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chauri and the other at Mirzapúr, east of Bhagalpúr. The hills themselves are not high, but bare and covered with woods. "As Humáyún marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chauri."—Diplomats, op. cit., p. 446.

2. Ghalibán Begum states: "He (Humáyún) defeated three (Bihar and Bhagalpúr) and then went to Chauri (Chauri), took it and thence returned to Ágra." This is also confirmed by Jaisak.—(Jaisak, op. cit., p. 191).

3. Abul Fazl also asserts that Sháh Bahádur of Gujarat sent him (Shah Khán) a subsidy and summoned him to his aid. Fazl made capital out of this for criticism and sent excuses for not going.—*Abul-Fazl*, I, p. 328.

you also having received this intelligence, Shar Khān sent his maid to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the chief of Jusaid Butla As you must entrust the lot of Ghazni to some one, make it over to me, and I will send my son Karā Khān to accompany you in this expedition. Do you try make all amity in regards these parts: for if either I or any other Afghan do any act unbefitting or disloyal, you have my son with you; reflect on him such signals as may be a warning to others."

"When Shar Khān's embassy represented this to the Emperor Humāyūn, he replied, "I will give Ghazni to Shar Khān, but on this condition, that he sends Jalāl Khān with me."

Finally, when Humāyūn heard of Mirza Muhammad Zahir's escape from Dandea, and Bahadur Shah's intended march on Delhi, he agreed to Shar Khān's proposal. Shar Khān was delighted and sent Karā Khān, his son, and Jalāl Khān his chamberlain, to the Emperor, who set off to Ajlā, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Nadīm Bekhān.¹

[11] "Shar Khān took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one penny of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Ghazni. When the Emperor came back from Gujrat, the Khān-Khānā Yūsuf-Khān (who brought the Emperor Shāh from Kabul to Hindustān) said to him: "It is not wise to neglect Shar Khān, for he is rebelliously inclined, and well understands all matters pertaining to government; moreover all the Afghans are collected round him." The Emperor Humāyūn, relying on the tactics of his father, and in the pride of Empire, took no heed of Shar Khān, and remaining the rainy season at Ajlā, sent Ilākh Bīg to Jaupār, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Shar Khān.

"When Shar Khān heard that the Emperor Humāyūn intended himself marching towards Delhi, he sent magnificent presents to Hindū Bīg, Governor of Jaupār, and gained his goodwill. At the same time Shar Khān wrote thus: "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly write to the Emperor, and assure him of my loyalty, disavow him from marching in this direction; for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindū Bīg beheld Shar Khān's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the eunuch, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall injure you." And in the presence of Shar Khān's eunuch wrote a letter to the Emperor Humāyūn saying: "Shar Khān is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and strives only and seeks the Akshid in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done anything since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to

1. Jalāl Khān succeeded Shar Khān after his death, as Jalāl Khān.

2. Karā Khān escaped from Humāyūn when he was busy in Gujrat — *Enkhā*, op. cit., p. 11.

yes." The Emperor on receipt of Shah's Reg's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) Sher Khan meanwhile attacked Jalal Khan, Khawla Khan under, and other chiefs, to conquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, unable to oppose them, retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghans having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, invested and besieged that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) "The following year the Emperor marched towards Bikhā and Bengal. When he arrived near Chaudr, he consulted his nobles whether he should first take Chaudr, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Khan was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles advised that he should first take Chaudr, and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined; but when Humāyūn asked the Khān-Khānā, Yūsuf-Khān for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chaudr) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chaudr first; the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur, it is advisable to take Gaur first; when that the capture of Chaudr is an easy matter. The Emperor replied: "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fort of Chaudr in the rear." The author has heard from the Khān-Khānā's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed: "The lack of Sher Khan is great that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghans will have conquered Gaur, and all its treasure will fall into their hands." When Chaudr fell to Humāyūn, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khan," who also took about the same

1. The march took place, according to Rishīnāmā, in Rabi 1004 (July, 1527)—*History of Jāfir*, pp. 444 n. 5. "The Muziris of Humāyūn say that the army reached Chaudr on the Shabī Rāst (Shaban 1004) of A. H. 945, January 1528; but this would leave only 8 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations (27 Humāyūn's defeat in Jajir A. H. 945, June 1526). I conclude therefore that the Muzirī writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began on 15th Shaban, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1528). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say 8 months."—(ibid., p. 426 n.) According to Dr. Fawcett, the correct dates were, starting from April 27 July 1527 a.d., reaching Chaudr Oct. 1527 a.d., siege of Chaudr Oct. (1527) = March (1528). (Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 517).

By his own choice, Humāyūn committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Khan had clearly laid for him. He had no pay ready for this initial mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chaudr, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jāfir; ibid., p. 140.)

2. When the fort fell into Sher Khan's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Rishīnāmā, "he could not get a suffi-

time the most important fort of Rohilkh by stratagem."

The (Shah Khán) thanked God and said: "The loss of Chander is no fort in comparison with this; so that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased as the conquest of Gaur is (I am) at getting possession of Rohilkh."

(iv) "After the Emperor had got possession of Chander, he retired to Badkash, and sent an army to Sher Khán, having it in view to get possession of the country of Bikhá. Sher Khán knew he had this design, and told to the rebels: "I have captured this fort of Ghaur, and have entered about me a very large force of Afgháns. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Bengal, I will surrender Bikhá to him, and make it over to whatsoever he will dispose, and will march to the same boundaries of Bengal as existed in Sultan Sháhdád's time; and I will send all the tributes of regularity—as the umbrellas, shroons, etc., to the Emperor, and will yearly send him two lakhs of rupees from Bengal. But let the Emperor return towards April." The Emperor, on hearing about Bikhá, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khán proposed.... Sher Khán was much delighted, and said, "I will fulfil the terms agreed upon, and will pray day and night to Almighty God that while his hands are hostile may hold between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependent and servant."

(v) "Three days after this dispatch the army of Subhán Makhdoóm, the successor of Náurát Sakhí of Bengal, came into the presence of the Emperor Humáýún, and made the following communication: "The Afgháns have taken the fort of Gaur, but most of the country is yet in my possession: let not Your Majesty trust to Sher Khán's promises, set march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Subhán Makhdoóm, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal."

Further with,— "The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afgháns. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into eight wágs his officers; after which he very ornamentably adorned himself up in a harem, and surrounded himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khán

with number of parties to carry it, and was at a loss how to convey these lots to Rohilkh." Finally, all the elephants, camels, oxen and all the arms of war captured at Ghaur, from the Afgháns, were utilized for a purpose—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 112.)

1. For details of this see E. & D. op. cit., IV, pp. 387-393; also Johnston, op. cit., p. 435 n. 10.

had killed the Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chaulis, and taken the city of Benares: and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj: that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohilkh.¹

(vi.) Sher Khan looked upon Humayun's conduct as a definite betrayal of his previous engagements with himself. "I have observed all loyalty in the Emperor," he said, "and have committed no offence against him, and have not intrusted upon his boundaries.... The Emperor defiled the kingdom of Bikh, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a kingdom to alienate so long a force (as Sher Khan then possessed) from his services: and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghans. But since the Emperor takes no heed, and has violated his promise.... you will hear what deeds the Afghans will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghans are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and enmities. The country which the Mughals have taken from the Afghans, they got through the internal dissensions among the latter." As Humayun did not keep to his word, Sher Khan felt himself free to act as he pleased. Accordingly, he despatched some of his officers to the west, to attack the Empire where Humayun was away in Bengal. "They took Benares and killed the greater part of the Mughal garrison there. Then they proceeded to Saharun, and drove out the Mughals from those parts, until they arrived at and captured the city of Sambehul, and made slaves of the inhabitants and spoiled the city. Another force was sent towards Jaunpur, the governor of which place was killed in battle, and the same force was sent in the direction of Agra. Every governor on the part of the Emperor Humayun, throughout the whole country, who offered any opposition, was killed, or was defeated and driven out of the country; so that all the districts as far as Kanauj and Sambehul fell into the

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 141. "When Humayun entered Gaur," says Nizamulla, "Sher Khan had previously fitted up all the students of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and ordered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by party-coloured tapestries and costly silken stuffs, in the hope that Humayun, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there; and his designs were completely succeeded by him. For Humayun remained four months in Gaur, and had no leisure for any other occupation than pleasure and enjoyment."—*Ibid.*, pp. 112-3. Ac. to Bameri, Humayun's stay in Gaur was from Aug. 1558 to Mar. 1559. *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

possession of the Aghas. The officers of Sher Khân also collected the revenues of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts.¹

(vii) Meanwhile, Mîrâk Hîndî who had returned to Âgrâ from Humâyûn's camp, raised the standard of revolt at the capital, and murdered Shâikh Khâid who was much respected by the Emperor Humâyûn. 'When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahangîr Bâg in charge of Bengal with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Âgrâ. At this time Mahamûmûd Zâhid Mîrâk returned from Gajpur with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not utter a word of reproach.² Humâyûn, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khân.

(ix) The latter, summoning all his forces from Rîshîk, Jâunpûr, and other places, collected them in the environs of the fort of Rohilk. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. 'At every stage he entrenched himself with an earthenwork, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khân was coming, he repeated his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khân's army. But, Sher Khân, so hearing this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the Khalid he read and money stuck in the Emperor's name, he would be the Emperor's vassal.' 'These proposals were received with great satisfaction.'³ 'Then Humâyûn sent Shâikh Khâid on an embassy to Sher Khân Shâikh Khâid, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khân and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation, the following words fell from Shâikh Khâid: "If you do not agree to peace, away with you: declare war and fight." Sher Khân said, "What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight." After the consultation, Sher Khân gave to Shâikh Khâid money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he plied him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice:—

1. *Tahsil-i-Akbari*; II, 4 D., op. cit., V, pp. 220-2.

2. 'But now coming Sher Khân fell upon the royal army somewhere and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.'—*Ibid.*, p. 220.

"War with the Emperor Hsienyên is more for your advantage than peace: for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists; he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him." He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khân addressed his army thus: "For two days I have dressed out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was moving towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of the Emperor, and let not the honor of the Afghans out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Empire of Hindûkush."

The Afghans replied, "Let not our Lord allow any hesitation to stand in way to his noble heart." Having read the farther, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khân with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghans were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khân was coming with all speed to battle with him.

The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying

1. Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaus. . . . Sher Khân having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.—*Ibid.*, p. 221. See *Barnes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-33.

2. Ferishta writes,—"To add to Hsienyên's embarrassment which could hardly be exceeded, his brother Kâshân Mirâ, instead of aiding him in this crisis, espoused to the throne, and marched with 10,000 horse from Lâhor, giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kâshân at Delhi, Hsienû Mirâ permitted an him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege. . . . The princes finding the governor of Delhi refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards Agra, on reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers secretly entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evoked itself in open war. Hsienû Mirâ, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Agher with 5,000 horse and 300 elephants; while Kâshân Mirâ entering Agra proclaimed himself King."—*Delays*, II, p. 65.

but after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion in valor, and in the excess of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forces of Sher Khân who were all Afghans, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement; nor did he take into consideration the disorganization which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army.¹

Sher Khân knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghan army were already upon them, and coming rapidly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 20th June, 1556. Humâyn had not completed his ablution when the intelligence reached him that the Mughals were utterly routed, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to secure his family,² but fled in the direction of Agri with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.³

Jagtar, Humâyn's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the disorders and of this battle of Chughtai or Chana:—

'An soldier seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.⁴ His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed; and the Afghans having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, wound his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost;

1. 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humâyn ought to have brought on action at all hazards being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops'—*Ibid.*, p. 85.

2. 'Sher Khân, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohilkhand charge of Husain Khân Mirza, and providing the families of the other Mughals with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Agri.'—*E. & D.*, op. cit., IV, p. 278.

3. It is the difference in the previous account of Akbar Khân and that of Jagtar, regarding the part played by Humâyn in this engagement.

when your friends desire you, fight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leather bag (maschi) with air, offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.¹

¹ According to the most authentic accounts, 1,000 Muslims exclusive of Khudā, were drowned, during the fight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zaid al-Mirā.

(x) After this victory, Sher Khā, assumed the title and insignia of royalty, at the desire of his nobles. Sher Khā said, "The kingly name is a very exalted thing, and is not devoid of trouble; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me King, I agree." He washed himself in the throne, unlaced the ankavila over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shāh, and struck coin, and named the *khutbā* to be read in his own name; and he took also the additional title of Shāh-i-Īlām.² The coronation, according to Qasrghā, took place at Guat, about the beginning of December, 1556.³

(xi) Meanwhile Humāyūn reached Agrā. 'Mirā Khānā had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brother, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindū Mirā (who had come from Akhar) received pardon for his offence, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultan Mirā and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirā Khānā was desirous of returning to Lāhor, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khudā Khān Beg wanted himself to bring about the return of Mirā Khānā. The negotiations went on for

1. "On reaching his capital, Humāyūn allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents."—*Farāhī*: *Bihar*, II, p. 88.

2. *Ibid.*: also *E. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 303.

3. His other bear the title of "Sultān al-Ālā,"—*Thomas*, op. cit., p. 296.

4. *Qasrghā*, op. cit., p. 308.

six months. Meanwhile, Mirā Khān had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So ill as he was, he started for Lāhore, having sent Khwāh Kalān Beg in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Agra; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, excepting only 2,000 men whom he left at Agra under the command of Shikāh.¹

[iii] Sher Shāh himself passed the Emperor Humāyūn and got possession of the whole country, as far as Kābil and Kanauj. He sent Sa Khān towards Ghazni and Mīlād and to the chiefs of these parts he wrote saying, "I am about to send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humāyūn moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Agra and Delhi."

"News arrived that the Emperor Humāyūn purposed marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shāh despatched his son Kath Khān to Mīlād, in order that he might, in concert with the chiefs of those parts, alarm and ransack the country about Agra and Delhi.

"When the Emperor Humāyūn heard that Sher Shāh had sent his son towards Ghazni, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mirā Haidar and Mirā Asaf, with other nobles in that direction. When the Mīlād chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming to oppose Kath Khān, they gave him no assistance. Kath Khān went from Ghazni to the city of Ghazna (Ghāzi ?),² and, engaging the Mughals of Ghazna, was slain. Mirā Haidar and Mirā Asaf, having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

"When Sher Shāh heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humāyūn arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (Zānās, 945 A.H., April 1540). Sher Shāh also fortified himself on the opposite side."

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 224.

2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 308.

BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR BELGRAD

[182] "On the 12th Muharram, 847, A.D. both armies drew out their forces. When Sher Shah had drawn up his army. He said to the Afghans: "I have used my best wisdom to collect you together. I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghans replied, "The mighty King has made protection and favour us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

Sher Shah ordered each chief to recruit to his own followers and to remain with them, and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.¹

Quite in contrast to this was the impetude on the side of Humayun. Mirza Haider, Mirza's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the imperial side, vividly describes the condition of the Mughal army and the course and result of the battle thus:—

"The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shah on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 100,000 men. Muhammad Salim Mirza, who had several times revolted against Humayun, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shah, deserted.

A new war was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shah, and would expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Mirza's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore.

"As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies encamped themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings went on and so by the moon's rise, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Orders were expressed that another such delay would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the camp. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose."

1. See Bames's, *op. cit.*, 243-49.

'Between me and the river there was a light of 27 Araks, all of whom carried the night banner'....On the day of battle, when Sher Shah, having turned his divisions, marched out, of all these 27 Akas banners, not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The suddenness and bravery of these Araks may be observed from this collection of oranges. Sher Shah came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 25,000, but I calculated the Chaghatu force as about 100,000, all mounted on superior horses, and clad in iron armour. They swept like the waves of the sea, but the constant of the Araks and nobles of the army lay with as I have described.'

Every Akas and Fark in the Chaghatu army, whether he be rich or poor, had his ghulams. An Akas of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and ghulams, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no concern over themselves. So in whatever place there was conflict, the ghulams were entirely unmanageable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They all pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the water upon the chains stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the contest.

'On the right, Sher Shah advanced in battle array: but before us green was discharged, the camp-followers fled the staff before the wing and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

'The Chaghatu were defeated in this battle-field; where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded: not a gun was fired; and the chariots were useless.'

'But the Emperor Humayun himself' says Abul Fazl, 'remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battlefield, and displayed both valor and gallantry as is beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the heads of his horses towards his capital of Agra. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.'

1. Fagh was the standard ornamented by the flowing tail of a vermilion cow, an object of great anathema, and granted only to the houses—*Ilakhs*, op. cit., p. 341.

2. Humayun crossed the river on the back of an elephant; but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to alight. 'At length' says Ishtak, 'some of the eunuchs, who were on the bank with him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse on which he mounted and proceeded towards Agra'—(E. & O., op. cit., V, p. 165).

The *main* part of his army was driven into over Ganges.¹

The Emperor fled to Agra; and when the news approached that day, he made no delay but went to Likhori.²

Shēr Shāh having sent two of his best officers to besiege Jodhpur and Sambar, and 'speedily visited the country about Kinanaj, took himself in the direction of Agra. When Shēr Shāh approached Agra, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Likhori. Shēr Shāh was greatly displeased at this . . . and on his arrival at Agra remained there, for some days himself, but sent Khwāra Khān and Burhānald Dār to the direction of Likhori, with a large flight of guns to pursue the Emperor . . . But the Emperor and Mirza Khwāra captured Likhori, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Shēr Shāh, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Likhori, he heard that Mirza Khwāra had gone by way of the Jakh hills to Kābil, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Multān. The King went to Khushab and thence despatched Khwāra Khān . . . and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to capture the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.³

Here we must, slightly across our steps to recount Humāyūn's

last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of

The Faith Com- his ungrateful brothers. 'At the beginning of dore.

Kabul⁴ arrived all the Chaghatai Sultans and Jaisis were assembled in Likhori; but Mirza Muhammad Salim and his sons, who had come to Likhori, fled from thence to Multān. Mirza Hindū and Mirza Yūdgir Shāh found it expedient to go towards Bhakhar and Thatta, and Mirza Khwāra determined to go to Kābil as soon as the party was broken up.

'It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and *Shērs* to any common agreement, and he was very dependent.' Farīdā says, 'Humāyūn used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Shēr Shāh, telling them that their brethren had must end in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their

1. "Most writers," says Elphinstone, "ascribe Humāyūn's defeat to treachery, and say that Shēr Shāh attacked him during an amission, or even after a peace had been signed. But Shēr Shāh acted, with great justice to Shēr Shāh, that he delayed Humāyūn's retreat by sending him with negotiations, but never promised to suspend his hostility, and was entirely justified in his military aid for the success of his strategy."—(Hist. of India, p. 498 n.). Cf. Rawlin op. cit., pp. 324-5.

2. H. & D. op. cit., V. p. 305.

father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the heads of Thak in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed but to resist against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part.¹

'Mīrā Haidar Bāg after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kishnūr; and Khudjā Kālā Bāg was ordered to follow him. When the Mīrā had reached Nandahar, and Kālā Bāg had got as far as Sālhoor, intelligence reached the Emperor that Shor Shāh had crossed the river (Diyah) at Sālhoor, and was only a few kos distant. His Majesty then passed over the river at Lāhoor.

'Mīrā Khudā, after proving faithful to the oath and compact which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahar.' When Khudjā Kālā Bāg heard of this, he marched rapidly from Sālhoor, and joined the camp of Hamīdīā. At Bahar, Mīrā Khudā and Mīrā Asād parted from Hamīdīā, and went off accompanied by Khudjā Kālā Bāg to Kābul. This was towards the end of October, 1566.

II. FIFTY-THREE YEARS OF KALĀ (1566-85)

'Mīrā Hindāl and Mīrā Fudāl Nāir still remained with Hamīdīā, but after a few stages they also dis-

appeared. ¹Wandering in quest. For twenty days they disappeared, the latter.

not falling into difficulties, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sirā (Sirāh) a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place, —Rohāt, Shāhār, Patā—and sought refuge in vain from Shāh

1. Briggs, II, pp. 86-7. For an analysis of the career of Hamīdīā's father to maintain his sovereignty see Briggs, op. cit., pp. 353-4.

2. When Mīrā Haidar crossed Kishnūr, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kishnūr fell into his hands, without striking a blow. On the 22nd Rajab, he became ruler of Kishnūr.—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 388.

3. Mīrā Fudāl very, he sent an army to Shor Shāh, intending for the Punjab.—Atter-Mīrā, I, p. 308.

Hsueh Anghia, ruler of Thucha, with a view to 'attempt the recovery of *Calicut*.'

'Gras' bounding water at Shukkar, the Emperor started off to Pata, where Miral Hindeil was staying, for he had heard that Miral Hindeil intended to go to Kandahar. It was here, in the camp of Hindeil at Pata, that Humsiyin fell in love with Maryami Madari Hamida Biku Begum (who soon became mother of Akbar). In the summer of 1541. Mahmud bin says, he "spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindeil." The Emperor forbade Hindeil to go to Kandahar, but he did not obey. When Humsiyin was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

Thus the request of Thucha was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Thucha, a large body of soldiers parted from him, and camped at Shukkar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Shiman, and retired to Shukkar. Miral Yildiz Mir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to capture Humsiyin, but Humsiyin was never forgiven him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.' But, 'he once more exhibited his submissiveness to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.' The men of Humsiyin's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Miral Yildiz Mir, who 'in the depths of his misery, now prepared to turn his arms against Humsiyin himself.'

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful sandshahs of Hindustan, who at that time possessed all the *emirates* of Hindustan in power and in the number of his troops.' This Maldeo had sent letters to Shukkar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan. Humsiyin, accordingly, marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jaulmir. The ruler of this latter place, Ali Lon Khan, "immediately took an *unfriendly course*." He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humsiyin had a good many men wounded. Then he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent an Akha Khan to Maldeo at Jodhpur, while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

'When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces at his own to withstand Sher Shah. For Sher Shah had sent an ambassa-

due to Maldeo, holding out great expectations) and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humayun a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nager and his dependences had fallen into the power of Sher Shah, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Shah should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Humayun. But lately, one of the Emperor's libertarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldeo, now wrote to Humayun informing him that Maldeo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Humayun marched off at once to Amarkot.

At length with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 150 kos distant from Thatta. The Patal of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 26th Rajab, 949 A. H., 12th October, 1542, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalal-ud din Muhammad Akbar.¹

About July 1543,² 'His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, despatched upon going to Kandahar. At this time Baitan Khán, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him; he had sought refuge in Gujarat after Humayun's defeat at Kanauj,' and after some adventures found the way back to his master.³ But Humayun's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Sadr Hussain of Thatta informed Mirza Askeri and Kilmish about his movements, and those ungrateful wretches "wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner." Humayun only said: "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul that I should strive with my faithless brethren?"

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old,

1. "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Hind, of which 35 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country: 6 months were spent in his journey to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jui (a branch of the Indus, half way between Thatta and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahar."—(Bhagwanee, op. cit., p. 222.)

2. Bhagwanee, op. cit., pp. 222-23; E. & O., op. cit., V, p. 222.

at Kandahar, in the charge of a small party.¹ Hamdylin accompanied by Bairston Kato and a few others, 'set off even without determining the route.'

The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts unsafe for His Majesty; so he proceeded onwards towards Kharashin and Ishq.

Upon entering Satta, Ahmad Satta Sharpa, governor of that province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Meshk, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Meshk are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshk and Tez.'

Under the orders of the Shah, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Meshk Satta and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shah a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahar. In return Hamdylin promised to establish the Shah's faith in his dominions, when he re-occupied them, and to hand over Kandahar to the Persians.²

At this time, Kāfirān was in possession of Kābul, Herāt of Ghazni, and Askari of Kandahar. Kāfirān had also taken Badakhsān, or South Bactria, from Sulaimān Mirā who had been placed

**Recount
Continued.**

1. Askari carried off the Prince and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begum, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year 1541). 1545, p. 124.

2. Shah Tahmasp was the son of Shah Ismail who had conferred assistance to Ekbat on very similar terms. Shah Ismail had established the Shia faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmasp too was an equally ardent supporter of the sect. When Hamdylin showed some disinclination to accept the terms, Shah Tahmasp appears to have sent him a large supply of food, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a Shia. Hamdylin was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The first who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as honour to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting.

"The memorandum does not mention, and may not have borne the contents of the papers; but it seems clear that they must have contained

chase by Ekbar; North India, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbeks. Sher Shah was still alive, and therefore there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindustan.¹

(C) "When they reached the fort of Gartair, they took possession of the Gannair territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege of Kandahar went on for three months."

Babur Khan was sent to Ekbar as an embassy to Khamra Mirā. There he had interviews with Khamra, Hindū, and others. Khamra sent his envoy "to settle terms of peace if possible." But Mirā Ashraf was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahar and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great Bāgs rallied round the Emperor, Ashraf lost heart and proposed to surrender. "The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms."

"It had been agreed with the Persians that in case of Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory.... Mirā Ashraf having found an opportunity, made his escape: but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai taken now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the reconquest of Ekbat and Badakhshan."

"They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humāyūn mounted his horse and went into the city.... The Chaghatai to their great satisfaction thus obtained possession of Kandahar" (September, 1545).

a profusion of the Shia religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier provinces or Kingdom of Kandahar.... Then Humāyūn himself professed to have been converted again from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shahīd Saī at Ashraf, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Shīah."—Ephraïm, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-4; see also Erdshir, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

1. Ephraïm, *loc. cit.*, p. 463.

"The opinion of Karaköhr in the Peninsula was the price of the assistance of the Shih," observes Rhipstonee, "and by availing himself of that assistance . . . he nullified the engagements made; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."¹

(ii) After this, Hameytsa marched to effect the conquest of Kibul, and left Bakram Kulu in charge of Karaköhr.

Mirsh Yafgir Nibir and Mirsh Hincilli, having devised a scheme together, deserted Kärnän. After being much harassed by the Hazara tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kibul . . . Mirsh Kärnän who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting; but every right party of men deserted his army and joined Hameytsa. Mirsh Kärnän, being alarmed, sent a party of Shakhis to wait upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kärnän did not agree to this, but fed and shut himself up in the Citadel of Kibul. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Kärnän fled to Ghazul. The Emperor sent Mirsh Hincilli in pursuit.

The Emperor then entered Kibul (15th November, 1845), and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begum brought the young Prince Jallä-d dñ Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the occasion. The victory was accomplished on the 15th Ramezän, 1263 A. H., when the Prince was 4 years, 2 months, and 5 days old. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kibul.

(iii) In the following year, Hameytsa marched to Badakhshän, for Mirsh Salimnän had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mirsh Salimnän was defeated and put to flight.

When Hameytsa was away in Badakhshän, Kärnän, by a surprise attack, took possession of Kibul and Ghazul. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kibul, having put Salimnän again in charge of Badakhshän and Konhar. Kärnän had taken possession of Prince Akbar, and in the fight that ensued, he made good

1. Rhipstonee, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

use of this possession. 'With dauntless feeling,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Miram Alish took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (i.e. the garrison) and God Almighty protected him.' Kilmish's spirit fell, and, from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Brief moments came from Badakhshān and Kandahar.

Mirā Kilmish now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some escapes and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshān. In vain he tried to get help from the Uzbeks, and when he failed in this, being very much downcast, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kilmish, who again received the insignia of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Balkh as an fief to Kilmish.

(iv) In June 1548, Humāyūn left Kabul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and summoned Kilmish and Ashraf. Though Firuz joined him, Kilmish and Ashraf once more showed hostility, and did not come to pay their homage....

'In consequence of Kilmish's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kābul while the Emperor was engaged in Balkh. Humāyūn declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kilmish's remaining absent.... The expedition proved a failure' (1548-50).

Humāyūn reached Kābul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Kilmish once again captured Kābul. Haidar re-

1. Ashraf Fāz relates in the *Akbar-Nāma* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Bīrūdī, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in the *Mansab*, does not mention this; while Jauhar in his private *Mansab* of Humāyūn, states that the only threatened to expose him, on which Humāyūn, ordered the firing to cease.—*Milman*, op. cit., p. 95 a.

mailed with the Emperor, and Askari fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askari died "in the country of Hér" between Damasco and Mecca, in 1588.¹

Kimón had married a daughter of Shaik Husain Asghar of Sakh. When Humayûn dislodged him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kabul. In the course of this fight Hindûl met his death—in Nov., 1521.² Finally, Kimón sought refuge with Sultan Salim Shah Mir in Hindûkush; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the hills of Solon. Here he fell into the hands of Sultan Ahmad Qabak, who sent him as a captive to Humayûn. "The Emperor in his natural humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Kimón, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatai class, who had suffered many things owing to Kimón's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humayûn, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai class and people depended on the destruction of Kimón Mîrsh, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humayûn had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded."³

At Durr Harbep, Sayid Muhammad Bârs, and Ghaffar Ali Shah-angusht (the sick-doctor) deprived Mîsh Kimón of his sight with a lancet.⁴ Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained per-

1. *Tafsehi-i Akhbar*; R. & D., op. cit., V, p. 224. Malleson says that he was killed in Mecca in 1593, where he died in 1598.—(Ibid. p. 22).

2. R. & D., op. cit., V, p. 224; *Fath-nāma*, *Trigat*, II, p. 176. "Out of affection to the memory of Hindûl Mîrsh, who had captured for his former disaffection by his blind, he gave the daughters of that prince, Mirā Tarkān, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time all the wealth of Hindûk, and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the Government of Ghazal."

3. Cf. *Fath-nāma*, *Trigat*, II, p. 176.

4. Jauhar gives all the precise details of the operation:—

"Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindûkush, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the prince disposed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act.... Ghaffar Ali represented to Kimón, in a respectful and soothing manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied, 'I would rather that you would at once kill me.' Ghaffar Ali said, 'We dare not disobey our orders.' He then belated a handkerchief as a ball for thrust-

mission to go to Meera, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out.' He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, on 26th Oct., 1557.¹

IV. RESTORATION AND DEATH (1558-60)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Salim) Salim Khán (52r), and of the disorders among the Afghans.' In November 1554, the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Pushkhar, Salim Khán, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Badak, although that fort had been strengthened, made no reply, and fled. . . . Humáiyún continued his march towards Láhore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near approach of his army, they took to flight. He entered Láhore without opposition (26th February, 1555), and then sent on the rables in command of the advance to Jalándhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Hissar, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chingizid forces. A body of Afghans, assembled at Dípalsi, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

ing into the mouth, and he with the Jewak, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and threw a ladder into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in manly manner and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he cried with great courage, till they equanimely went down into and out into the sockets of his eyes. He could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next". . . . The nation of these people (Jehak's), seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a melancholy mood."—E. & O., op. cit., V, pp. 146-48.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

2. At the death of Salim Khán, the Six Regiments broke up into several parts: Shamsur Khán, to whose share the Punjab had fallen, had since attacked Bikhán the murderer of Dauli and Ágha and had driven him from his kingdom; while Adil Khán, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—*Asiaticana*, op. cit., p. 471.

'Sikandar Alkhan, who held possession of Delhi, sent 20,000 men under Tahir Khan and Haidar Khan to attack the advance forces in Sindbad. The Chaghatai forces concentrated at Jalandhar and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sula[...]. As the sun went down a great battle began.

'The Alkhan began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the

The Battle of Mughala, but the Alkhan being greatly annoyed by the fire (arrows) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the village of Hindkilla were thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons busily by the light of the burning village. The enemy in the plain of the fire, presented a fair mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

'A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjab, Sindbad, and Hindk-Pishan were now in his possession, and none of the dependencies of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

'On hearing of the defeat (Sindbad) Sikandar Alkhan marched forth to take his revenge, with 20,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sindbad and there he encamped and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals comprehended the fortifications of Sindbad and making a great show of resistance, they wrote letters to Hindkilla for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sindbad, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were less than were numerous than the Mughals.

'For some days during which both sides challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length

The Battle of the vengeance of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Haidar Khan (Khan-Pishan) on the one side, and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khan... attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the sides exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Alkhan, 20,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in numbers, and (Sindbad) Sikandar fled.

'The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death: and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphantly to meet upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions.'

'This victory,' says Fennell, 'decided the fate of the Empire; and the Empire of Delhi fell forever from the hands of the Afghans.'

Sikandar Khán Uzbeg was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Sandrit. A body of Afghans in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbeg entered and occupied the city. Mir Abul Ma'ali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sikandar) Shaukat, who had fled into the Ghazni mountains. 'In the month of Rabi-ul Awwal (22nd July 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi, and once more the Akbari was met, and the cities were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of the province. The remainder of this year was spent in war and conquest.'

'But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th Rabi-ul awwal, at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending the minaret cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up screaming, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spoke. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Jali was sent to the Panjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th Rabi-ul awwal, 963 A. H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line: "*Mumayyidat khalikat an-nas wafat*."

By a strange circumstance as it were, sometime before his death, Mumayyidat used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gushing from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice:—

[O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own;

1. Briggs, II. p. 178.

2. 'I lately read,' writes Mumayyidat, 'after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses.'—(Enkhais, op. cit., p. 338.)

*Make me a partaker of the knowledge of Thy attributes;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life;
O tell to Thine Thy poor meditations (sinner).
O grant me my release!*"

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Nizâm-d din Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Hama'diya, concludes his ^{Contemporary} ^{Estimate.} account of him with the following estimate of Hama'diya's character: "He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age." His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindûstân would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth, during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mîrsh Kâshân and the Chaghatâi soldiers, when they were taken prisoner and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (wuzû), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mîr Abu-l Hâi, the scribe or Chief Judge, by the name of Abûl. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologised, and said, that as Hâi was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and creditable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him! (Nizâm-d din Ahmad, *Fatah-nâ-i Akbarî*; E. & D., op. cit., V. p. 140.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Hama'diya, that of his uncle Mîrsh Haidar will be always considered the most valuable for

1. Hama'diya was 46 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Shîrah, in 1500, the effective reign of Hama'diya, including both his first and second periods of rule, had extended for only about ten years."—*MSA*, O. W., p. 374.

its intimacy as well as usefulness. For, 'No one of my brothers or Sahibans of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been favoured in such a way as L. Mahmud Badai Khan, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as "dar".'

'Hamid-ur-Rahman was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Akbar's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he; but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in fest, and very generous. In short, he was a dignified sturdy sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Agra, it was after his death, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on me), there were still 17,000 mansab in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.' (Lane-Poole, *Med. India from Constantine to Aurang.* p. 58.)

Forbes says, 'Hamid-ur was of elegant stature, and of a bronzed complexion. The address and benevolence of Hamid-ur's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and abstinences and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.' (Griggs, II, p. 178). "Hamid-ur was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and for the most part disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (Ibid., pp. 70-71).

'Like Akbar his education and tastes were entirely Persian....

Some Modern
Estimates.

but while Timur and Akbar were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be tamed from one set person.

either from the positing of a wall or the propagation of a motto-plate, Humayun was but a weak dissenter who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.'... In spite of these proceedings the stars in their courses fought against Humayun... His shrewdness and delicacy of character were covered by the smiling grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Moghuls, he was for his intimate friends a prince of good fellows. He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Moghul dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shah's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shah and Humayun could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the delicate character and rather superficial distaste of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shah's at Bidayun, the stern, strong man, soldier and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindustan with a rod of iron.' (E. B. Havell, *Aryan India in India*, pp. 428-9, 440-9).

'Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vice and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet as he had been brought up under Akbar, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretensions, though he never turned them to the best

5. 'He must seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first called the Palace of the Moon, was set apart to ambassadors, ministers and travellers. In the second, called the Palace of Venus, civil officers and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the receiving five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the household attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business for one day in the week.'—*Forbes*; *Bezza*, II, p. 71.

account... He was not naturally either cunning or craft; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been much truer to his word than Charles II." (*Elphinstone, History of India*, pp. 452, 471.)

"His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate,' and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled. His end was of a piece with his character:—if there was a possibility of falling, Humāyūn was not the man to make it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it." (*Lane-Poole, Medieval India*, pp. 226, 227).—

"Humāyūn, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energy and promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to spleen probably explains his failures as a considerable extent." (*Smith, Oxford History of India*, pp. 328-30.)

"Brave, genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous, and merciful, Humāyūn was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Added to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and untidy. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality; his attachments into weakness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst the comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him."—(*Millman, Akbar*, p. 40).

"The real character of Humāyūn may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians.... He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and untidy. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over-ran, first the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujara, and next those of Bidar and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-discip-

that they are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all ; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy,—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

"His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate ; his manners polite, frank, and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes. . . . but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favorites. From his father he inherited the fondness of literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronized such as were eminent in these sciences, and procured several of them to offices of trust. At the close of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a basin or market, which is constructed at Agra, on ships lashed together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumna, has been celebrated ; this and several other of his enterprises evinced his fondness for the mechanical arts. . . . But, though Humayun was brave and good tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a liveliness in his mind that neutralized his good qualities ; and a fatality seemed to attend on his merits.—(*English History of India*, II. pp. 626-31, 334-35.)"

HUMAYUN'S PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE:

"From the time when Humayun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his Kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a head capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Malwa, and Lahore were among the capitals fixed upon

1. Also read S. M. Jeffes, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, but he even possessed sufficient audacity, to carry into execution."—*Erskine*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 326-27.

The ultimate disaster of Humayun's regime is perhaps best illustrated in the following extracts from the writings of Khwāndamīr who died in Humayun's service during the Gujarat campaign:—

"When the auspicious theme was filed by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants

Classification of the kingdom were divided into three classes. The first people,

brothers and relations of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men were called *Āl-i-Shams* (Officers of the State), because it is evident that according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men," no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

"Kings with the assistance of their army,
Place their feet upon the throne of empire.
No alone can obtain wealth and rank
Who is assisted by his army."

"The holy persons, the great scholars (religious men), the respectable scholars, the literati, the law-officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the second class, and were designated *Āl-i-Safā* (great men), because, to observe honour and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

"Virtue is the gift of God :
It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it.
If you wish to obtain fortune,
You must associate with virtuous men."

"Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and well-favoured, and also clever musicians and great singers, composed the third class, and the appellation of *Āl-i-Mahar* (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take delight in the company of such young-looking men, of gay cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sounds of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the rebec and the lute.

"The hope of the heart of women
Is never realised but when they meet persons whose cheeks
are rosy.

His wife is fond of hearing songs and music;
Has the gates of happiness opened for himself!

The ranks of all the people comprising the three classes were divided into twelve orders or *arrows*, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. Arrows of different standards of gold were distributed, by means of which the distinction of rank and station among servants of the throne was marked. The twelfth arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was given to the sovereign ruler of the King and nobody could dare or touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and lords, and all the *Shahans* who were in the Government except. Tenth, to the great nobility, vizir, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the *harem* and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth, to young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurer and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the male servants. First, to the palace guards, camel-drivers, and the like. . . . each of these arrows or orders had three grades: the highest, the middle, and the lower.

Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into four Departments, after the number of the four elements, viz., *Atash*, *Mazd*, *Jih*, and *Khat*; and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department in which belonged the military and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken of fire, was called *Atash*; and the superintendence of this Department was placed under Khwâsh Asad-al-Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the hearts of those who were employed on these works. The duties connected with the manufacture, linens, robes, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Mazd* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwâsh Lutf-Allah. The *Shah-khâsh*, *Kut-khâsh*, the drapery of oxen, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *Jih* Department, and its superintendent was Khwâsh Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, construction of Khwâsh lands, and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khat*, and this was placed under the management of Khwâsh Jalâl-al-Din Mîrân Shâh. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amir Wâli Muhammad.

According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for plebeian men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the

use of hope of this amiable body of the people procured the lack of prosperity by their shining audience in the paradise-resounding Court. The reason why these two days were appointed for this class was that Sunday is ascribed to Siva, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is ascribed to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the scribes, the learned men, and the great influence of the Muhammedan law. Sundays and Thursdays were fixed for the State officers; and all the Government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the nobles and plebeians were able to obtain the favour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God, is ascribed the form of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to render the throne of sovereignty in the public Court-hill by His royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper.

Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he assumed the throne of sovereignty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing of their ruler, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gong was rung to let the people know that they might retire. Also on these days the keeper of the wardrobe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer some pieces of money, and they placed them in the Court, in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one of them, and no folly should take place. And also that several people who re-visited Bahadur, having put on suits of red, and other blood-drinking war-ble in their hands, stood before the throne to salute and praise those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days, some of the old companions and chosen friends were summoned, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all invited to their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the Moon, and hear sweet and delightful music. On Fridays, on the name (name) of Mahomed, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.*

(Muntakhab-Nawaz, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 119-120).

SHER SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Husain Khan Sur^{*}AUTHORITIES¹

ARABIC

A. *Primary*: (1) *Tārīkh-i-Shah Shāh*, also called *Tadārīf-i-Akbar Shāh*, by Abūsh Khān Surwānī, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shāh, and "so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and successful chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson, however, says, "It is a biography, not a history," though he admits, "this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgment of his (Sher Shāh's) character and talents." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 305-433. Later writers like Nikmān-d-dīn and Badkhub drew largely from Surwānī.

2. *Makhdum-i-Afghānān of Nizām-i-Afshār* (see Dorn's *History of the Afghāns*, Ed. II, pp. 38-142, pub. 1826). "Therein alone," says Qasimji, "has been preserved a faithful summary of Abūsh Surwānī's work, with the exception of its concluding chapter." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 434). See E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 70.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Durrat of Abūsh Shāh*, written in the reign of Jahāngīr. Extracts in *ibid.*, IV, pp. 434-515. "Abūsh Shāh," says Qasimji, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nizāmud-dīn. Here

^{*} From *Irīgānī* Ferīdun, vol. II, p. 39 *oppo.*

1. Prof. Qasimji divides the contemporary writers into (1) *Afghān* and (2) *Nizāmud-dīn*, and points out: "This division is important because the former, owing to national sympathy and natural bias, are supposed to be friendly and even eulogistic to Sher Shāh, while the latter are either hostile, indifferent or neutral according to the circumstances under which their works were composed."—*Sher Shāh*, p. 437.

and there he gives valuable pieces of information." (Sher Shah, p. 435). It is interesting to note that this medieval chronicler wrote : "History is not simply information regarding the efforts of kings who have passed away ; but it is a mirror which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples." (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 434).

NON-AUTHORS

4. Works like the *Munshi* of Akbar, *Tārīkh-i Roshni*, *Munshi-nama*, *Tārīkh-i Fawā'id*, etc., cited already as authorities for Babur and Humayun are also valuable supplementary sources for this period and vice versa.

5. *Tārīkh-i Akbari* of Nizamud-din al-Akbar (see Authorities for next chapter) is valuable, as the testimony of Mahmud-din in favour of Sher Shah has greater weight than that of Akbar Salavati. (Qasrawi, op. cit., p. 442).

6. *Munshi-nama* of Abdul Qadir Badkubi. "He often writes from personal knowledge and his account of the Shāh dynasty, especially of the reign of Ismā'īl Shāh, is of great importance. There is a freshness and originality in his work which we note elsewhere." (Ibid., p. 443).

7. *Akbar-Nama* of Abul Fazl "paints Sher Shah and Ismā'īl Shāh in the same colour as the Court historians of Aurangzeb, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Marāṭhā hero Shiwājī and his son." Nevertheless, where he praises Sher Shāh's administrative ability, as he undoubtedly does, he "is certainly more valuable than the most fulsome eulogy of Akbar." (Ibid., p. 444). The *Alam Akbari* by the same writer has some valuable references to Sher Shah's land settlement and revenue system. "Revs V, VI, and VII, in which various instructions are given to the revenue officials, are based on the regulations (*qānūn*) of Sher Shah and Ismā'īl Shāh." (Ibid., pp. 444-45).

8. *Tārīkh-i Fawā'id* has practically nothing new to say. "The tradition of the descent of the Shāh from the royal house of Ghazni, which is perhaps his only original contribution, is baseless." (Ibid., p. 445).

EUROPEAN WRITERS

9. "The Portuguese under Martin Affonso De Melo first landed at Chittagong in 1583 A.D. The Portuguese Captain visited

Cent in that year when war broke out between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Shāh. In this war the Portuguese rendered great help to Mahmūd Shāh. The Portuguese historians Castelneda and others have left good accounts of the war between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Shāh and of the struggle of Hemūyān with Sher Shāh. This important source of Indian history has not yet been utilized." (*Ibid.*, p. 471).

3. *Summary*: 1. *Sher Shāh* by Prof. Kullamann Janssen. Kar, Mejerand & Co., Calcutta 1901. He calls Sher Shāh "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans."

2. *The Summary of Sher Shāh* by Nivā Dhanan Roy, Dacca (1934).

3. *Erskine's History of India*, vol. II (Hemūyān) already noticed, is according to Prof. Janssen, within a small compass "a masterly sketch of the career of Sher Shāh. His estimate of the administrative genius of Sher Shāh (pp. 442-444) deserves credit."

4. *Erskine's History of India* removes several persistent errors of Persian historians.

CHAPTER IV

THE 808 INTER-REGNUM

"This Afghān is not to be disconcerted by wives; he may come to be a great man yet Keep an eye on Sher Shāh. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."—*Shāh*

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day!"—*Same Shāh*

"It was the rare good fortune of the house of Tīmūr that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghān Sher Shāh, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly built for the Maghals that structure of the administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."¹

In this brief statement, Rudbinckes Williams has admirably summed up the place of the 808 Inter-regnum in the history of the Maghāl Empire. Moreover, as the events of Hemūyān's first

¹ Rudbinckes Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

edge were inevitably connected with the fortunes of Sher Shah, his restoration and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shah's descendants. The sad contrast between Bihur's brilliance and Humayun's political ineptitude also finds a sharp echo in the Afghan episode: both pointing to the same moral *ex vis*, the fatal ineptitude of monarchism. The other, guides to transient truth uninspired.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shah's career in his triumphant deal with Humayun. Here must be pre-empted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

A. EARLY LIFE

'Sher Shah was born in the reign of Sultan Bahadur (1450-62),

and they named him Farid, writes Abdu

1. Anon.

Sarwari in his *Tārīkh-i Sher Shah*—

It was in the 'City of Victory' Hindupur (Dehra District) founded by Feroz Shah Tughlak. The year, according to Qanung, may have been 1456 A.D.

'The grandfather of Sher Shah, by name Ibrahim Khān Sūr, with his son Hasan Khān, the father of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan from Afghanistan'. . . They settled in the pargana of Bajwān. Later, Jurdī Khān Sarwārdī of Hindupur borrowed an Ibrahim 'several villages in pargana Nawad' for the maintenance of forty horsemen.' Hasan Khān entered the service of Umar Khān, Khān-i-Nawad, who was 'counsellor and country of Sultan Bahadur.' Umar Khān gave 'several villages in the pargana of Shikōhābād as a *ajir* to Hasan Khān.' After Ibrahim's death Hasan Khān also received his father's *ajir* 'with several villages in addition to it.'

1. Abdu Khān, at the commencement of his work, states, 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghan, skilled in the science of history and rhetoric, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his fortunes to the end of his reign, and were employed in his confidential service. I have written also what I have well ascertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus acquired, and could not stand the touchstone of truth, I have rejected.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 308).

2. Qanung, op. cit., p. 2.

3. 'From a place which is called in the Afghan tongue "Shah glari," but in the Hindustani tongue "Pahla." It is a ridge, a spur of the Subaric Mountains, about 5 or 7 *has* in length, situated on the banks of the Goral.'—(E. & D., ib., IV, p. 309).

When Jural Khin was sent to the aid of Jauplir by Shander Lodi (who had succeeded Bahāf), he took with him Shor Khin's father, being 'much pleased with Hasan Khin's good service,' and 'gave him in stip the purganas of Samdan, Khāpār, and Tawla, near Baidara, to maintain 500 horse.'

Hasan Khin had eight sons. Farid Khin and Miran Khin were born of one Afghan mother; the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farid.' The latter, 'amused with his father, went to Jural Khin at Jauplir,' where he 'employed himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the Shāh-nāma, the Qashshā, and Juvāinī, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a maintenance (maḥdī suḥān), he used to ask them about the Harkīn-i-Hindī, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,' that Hasan Khin came to Jural Khin when all his kinsmen in Jauplir approached him, for having sent Farid away; and they remarked that Farid Khin, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness; that he bore the marks of destiny on his forehead, and that in all the tribe of Sīr there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Hasan Khin would entrust him with the charge of a purgana, he could discharge it excellently well, and perfectly perform all his duties.'

When father and son were reconciled, Farid was given charge of the two purganas of Samdan and Khāpār.

3. Young Farid (in the present District of Shāh-Mīr) died. 1591. Even so early as this (1511), the future Shor Khin gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

1. Farid lived at Jauplir up to his twenty-fifth year, from 1504 to 1521. (Jamnaga, op. cit., p. 8).

2. It was a frontier march on the southern side of Baluch. To the south lay the outskirts of the Baluch hills, then inhabited by non-Aryan semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Khudī Khān of Baluch; on the east was the San river. To the west was the purgana of Ghazāl, which belonged to Muhammad Khin Khān, the future enemy of Farid. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

"I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district," he said to his father, "and that depends on a just administration."

Abdulla Khilji further tells us, "when he got to his rights, he said :— "Let all the headmen (*malikdars*) and the cultivators (*musaffirs*) on whose labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accounts (*patnamis*) attend my presence." When they came, he summoned also the soldiery, and thus addressed them :—

"My father (*sha*) has committed to me the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned; and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

"When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said :— "This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."

"Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent; others preferred payment in kind (*akrasat-i ghali*). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (*farshma*), and the fees for the tax-collectors and managers (*malakdars*); and he said to the chaudharis and headmen :— "I know well that the cultivation depends on the farmer's payments; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much. I know the oppressions and evasions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-gatherers' fees,—that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will take the amounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a peasant, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency but collect the revenue with all strictness. If he perceives the cultivators are *mal-*

ing persons, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

'He then said to the peasantry, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. I will tell no one to oppose you." Having thus addressed them he dismissed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

'After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, "The cultivators are the source of prosperity. I have encouraged them and sent them away, and shall always watch over their condition, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them. There are certain ruffians who have been behaving contumaciously in these parganas, who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*subhane-i-khalis*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I overcome and destroy them?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Miran Husan; wait a few days and they will return." Farid said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God: do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them."

'He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the pargana, and he sent for all the Afghans and men of his tribe who were without signs, and said to them, "I will give you subsistence and clothing till Miran Husan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you: and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *gha* from Miran Husan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good harness by all sorts of dawsan, and by gifts of clothes, etc. and presented them also with a little money...

'Early in the morning, Farid Khan mounted and attacked the criminal ruffians, and put all the rebels to death, and making off their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to kill them as slaves: and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and

rule of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.

'If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farid would examine it in person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to carelessness or sloth.

'In a very short time, both peasants became prosperous, and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented. When Mirza Hasan heard of this he was much pleased; and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his peasants, the gallantry of his son, and the sobriety of the aristocracy.'

In spite of all this, however, Farid once again lost favour with

4. Farid, by his whimsical father, and for a time sought refuge at the court of Ibrahim Lodi at Agra, under the patronage of Bahadur Khan. When that prince died on the gory field of Panipat (April, 1556), the young adventurer went to Bahadur Khan, son of Daryll Khan, who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad.¹ 'Employing himself day and night in his business, Farid gained Bahadur Khan's favour, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country of Bihar.'

One day he went out hunting with Bahadur Khan, and a tiger (shar) having been started, Farid Khan slew it. On account of this gallant encounter Bahadur Khan gave him the title of "Shar Khan the Tiger Chief."

Shar Khan after this, getting help from Saif-uz-Jang Bahadur, the Governor of Jaunpur, sought preferment and the Mughals, under Shikar at Agra.² There being admitted to the court, he remained for some time among the Mughals, was present at the siege of Chittodur, 'acquainted

1. According to Qasim, Farid governed his paternal estates for 7 or 8 years, from 1544 to 1550 or 1555. He went to Bahadur Khan about 1551. (Qasim MSS., pp. 24, 31-32). Dr. Everett has pointed out that some of Dr. Qasim's 'dates and events' have been collected by Dr. P. Sams in the R. & O. N. S. J. for March 1894.

2. "Just after the battle of Panipat the ambitious Afghans which unemployed at home against rivals of their own race, resorted to Shikar in the hope of overcoming their domestic enemies with the help of the Mughals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Qasim, loc. cit., p. 340.)

himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their soldiers." "*If such wives are,*" he is reported to have said among the Alghins, "*and perhaps need my friend, I could easily cast the Moghols from India.*" The Emperor Bâbar, with his keen insight into human character, observed in Khairi, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khân, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Alghin nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of royalty."

B. CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

Sher Khân was too circumspcct a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quitted Bâbar's camp

1. The First at the earliest opportunity.¹ "I have no longer any confidence in the Moghals, nor they in me," he declared. "I must go to Sultan Muhammad Khân." When Sultan Muhammad died, Sher Khân became the Deputy to his son Jalil Khân, in the Government of Hind and its dependencies, about October 1529.

The following year 1530, Sher Khân captured the important fortress of Chanderi. This may be considered the starting point of his career of aggression. The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abûls Sarwâlî:—

Sultan Ibrahim Lodî had entrusted the fort of Chanderi to Tûj Khân Sa'ang Khân, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Tûj Khân was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lad Malika, who was a woman of great beauty and

1. He was there at least for 15 months, from April 1527 to June 1528, when he got back his prisoner as a result of Bâbar's eastern campaign of 884 A. H. (Ibid., pp. 44, 50-51).

2. Quinnes says, "Sher Khân joined not Sultan Muhammad Lodî (as Abûls Sarwâlî, Nishkassik. Ferishta, etc., say), but Sultan Mahmûd Lodî." (Ibid., pp. 58-59).

3. "I, the author of this history of Sher Khân, Abûls Khân Bî Shâikh Ali Sarwâlî, have heard from my kindred and companions who were great soldiers and companions of Sher Khân that he got possession of the fort of Chanderi in the following manner: For fuller details of the incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 345-46.

widow. One night, Taj Khan's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lail Malika with a sword, but not severely. Her servants conspired to Taj Khan, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sabre, and escaped out of the house. Taj Khan died of the wound.¹

Shah Khan, after this incident, cleverly legitimated himself with Lail Malika and married her.² By this means he not only got possession of the fort, but 'she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 3 mases of pearls, and 150 mases of gold, and many other articles and ornaments.'

Subsequent to this, Shah Khan also got into his power and possession the purghana near the fort of Chanderi; and further strengthened his resources by inheriting 60 mases of gold from Qasim Hussain, the widow of Khair Khan.

When Humsayin had overpowered Sultan Mahamud Lodi, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Taurah, he sent Hinda Beg to take Chanderi from Shah Khan, but the latter refused to give it up. Jahan says, 'When the victorious army of the Moghuls reached Chanderi, Jall Khan, son of Shah Khan, and several other nobles were within the fortress: the fortress was besieged for four months. When Shah Khan saw that the fort would fall to-day or to-morrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Karb Khan, to the presence of His Majesty (Humsayin) and secured peace.'³ Thus he got off Humsayin for the time being with clever but traitorous professions of loyalty. Humsayin withdrew and turned towards Gujrat, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

'Near were the eastern provinces rendered to submission to the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultan Sikandar (1517) as now," writes Qasimg. "The formidable Afghan leaders, Bohan and Biquaid, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Girid to the Garulak (boundary of the kingdom of Bengal) was as tranquil as now. On the southern bank of the

¹ 1. "The whole story," says Qasimg, "is undoubtedly got up with the object of connecting so that Shah Khan obtained Chanderi by legitimate means from his virtuous mistress Lail Malika." (*Shah Jahan*, p. 71).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.

Ganges the pretensions of Sher Khan were rebuked, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was scathed, not killed; and this harboured future trouble. When Humayun was resting in the bed of forced idleness, it recovered from the shock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of lifelong enmity was sown between the two men.¹

To resume Akbar Khan's narrative, "Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one of his sons and many of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Hind. He also began to patronise all Afghans. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and performed a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghani who refused to be a soldier. He was also very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be needlessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly desirous of patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.

'Sultan Bahadur (of Gujarat) being defeated by Humayun, went towards Surat, and all the Afghans who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khan.'

'When Akbar Khan (Nasir Shah) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultan Mahmud his successor; but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into disorder. Mahmud Shah, nevertheless, conceived the design of conquering Hind from the Afghans, and accordingly despatched Karb Khan with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khan entered?and?openly remonstrated; but Karb Khan gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khan consequently told his Afghans, "With the Mughals on the

1. Guernsey, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

2. "When the son of Bahadur Shah's fortune sank down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khan rose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon."—*Ibid.*, p. 128.

3. This is a remarkable confirmation of Father's observation regarding the tradition in Bengal (see E. & D. *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 399-401). Nasir Shah died about December 1555, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Akbar Shah. From Shah, who was captured by Mahmud Shah soon after, in May 1555.—Guernsey, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

side, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no recourse save in our own bravery." The Afghans replied, "Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

Shir Khân, having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated. . . . Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Shir Khân did not give any part to the Lohitâ,¹ and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohitâ's who thereafter became the enemies of Shir Khân. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were foiled in their attempts, they went over Jaid Khân (Shir Khân's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

"As soon as Shir Khân heard that Jaid Khân had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said: "Now the kingdom of Bihâr has fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihâr, and an enmity existed between the Lohitâ's and myself, I feared lest the enemy should be victorious, for the worst means of defeat are divisions in your own army. Now that the Lohitâs are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army: and if there be no divisions among the Afghans, how can the Bengal army compare with them in the day of battle? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Praise God, when I have disposed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughals from Hindustân."

Events showed that these calculations of Shir Khân were not wrong. "After this Shir Khân began to strengthen himself, and collect more men. Whenever there were any Afghans he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked. Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihâr in his own, and proceeded against the King of Bengal. "This campaign," says Ormeau, "was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles

1. The Lohitâs as a tribe were the rivals of the Sîrs. Shir Khân himself stated: "The Lohitâs are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Sîrs; and the custom of the Afghans is, that if any man has four horses more than another, he thinks little of killing or dispossessing his neighbour."—*ib.* & *ib.*, IV, p. 378.

of the medieval history of India. It was a turning point in the career of Sher Khân.¹ The following account of the engagement is given by Akbar Khân :—

BATTLE OF SONAGARH : 1594

'When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khân arrayed his horse, and brought them out of their encampments; and after the morning peepers, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, "In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great host of infantry: we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengali cavalry should be driven away from their guns and infantry, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their army may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the greater part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horse. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did in the former occasion, without any repetition of defeat. I will bring up my selected division, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengali army, shall retreat.

'The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghans are beginning to fly; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and host in the rear, and push on with all expedition. Haste, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring up my force which has been counted behind the eminence, who will attack the enemy. The Bengali cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghani horse. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight.'²

The result was just what Sher Khân had so shrewdly anticipated. 'The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khân, who was thus supplied with munitions of war, and became master of the Kingdom of Bhilr, and much other territory besides. Since God, the most holy and most

1. Osmang, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

2. The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kail river, east of Bhilr town. Alau' Daul says that Sher Khân fought the battle at Jalajanki, on the boundary between the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and was a victory. Situated in between the Ganges on the north and the Khargolli hills on the south, the narrow plain of Sonagarh (about 5 miles in width) was indeed the most suitable place for making such a stand. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a decisive battle.—*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

3. Cf. William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Hâstings.

power, had proclaimed from all eternity to give the Kingdom of Alud to Sher Khan, and that people of the Land should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a just and just ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually came into his possession.

In the beginning of May 1535, Sher Khan again turned upon Mahmud Shah, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihār. "This came as a complete surprise to the incapable voluptuary who disgraced the throne of mighty rulers like Shams Shah and Nuruz Shah. Sher Khan's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmud Shah on this side of Telāpurāh.¹ Mahmud Shah, like Eubelus the Unready, bought him off for the time being with an indemnity of 15,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khan once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we learn that Sher Khan sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khan invited Humayun's attention towards him. Abu-l Fazl says, "Meanwhile news came of the over-growth of Sher Khan and of his conquests in the eastern provinces. . . . Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khan should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued."²

1. Shāh Shah was ever virgulous in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest; e. g. he took from Bihār Fakā Mahāla the hapless widow of Shamsah's brother Mustafa, who had sought his refuge and protection, 300 muns of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two pagayas for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 355-56. "This is an inhuman act of spoliation of an hapless woman," says Ganga, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is at times put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khan; because the money was not utilised in self-defence, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge armament was being equipped solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible stains upon his character." (Shāh Shah, p. 115.)

2. *Abul-Fāz*, I, p. 328.

We have already followed the course of subsequent events. Sher

4. Defeat of Khün defeated Hsunshyün at Chawu, in 1555, and assumed the title of Sher Shüh; at the latter of Shiguan, in 1565 Hsunshyün was finally

vanquished and expelled out of the Empire. Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to this period, which, like the Fakh Maikha story, throws light upon the treacherous character of Sher Shüh.¹ It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Bobala:

Sher Khün² was indebted owing to the capture of Chawü by Hsunshyün. There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khün and the Rājā of the fort of Bobala, and Chawü, the Rājā's son, was on particular terms of intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khün. This Chawü was a Brahman and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khün's brother Nüwan, and procured them shelter in the fort of Bobala. . . . On the present occasion Sher Khün wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Rājā would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past, he would again restore the fort. . . . Sher Khün also gave to Chawü a bribe of 6 mace of gold, and said, "Persuade in any way you can the Rājā to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Hsunshyün, and will revenge myself on everything belonging to the Rājā." . . . When the Rājā finally consented, Sher Khün treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to elect them by force. . . . Sher Khün placed his own guards and soldiers in every part of the fort, and drove the Rājā away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Bobala. The commonly received report that Sher Khün put Alghians into debt and sent them into the fort as women, is altogether erroneous and false," writes Abū Sa'ād; "for I, the writer of this history, . . . have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khün in the affair."

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably just-

1. H. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 161 n. The rejection of the debt story, says Grousset, does not in any way acquit Sher Khün of the charge of the treachery. . . . Sher Khün's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Rājā's good services. (Sher Shüh, pp. 144-45).

led by the importance of the place. Far after taking possession of the fort, Sher Khan observed, "The fort of Chander is not a fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gwal as I am in getting possession of Rohtak."

Sher Khan was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort; he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghan families but also came into possession of the vast treasures which had been accumulated there for ages by Hindu kings. Prof. Quesada thinks it must have come into Sher Khan's possession in March, 1558.¹

An admirable summary of Sher Khan's relations with Humayun—though only from the Afghan point of view—up to the battle of Chander, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said: "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humayun; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him. . . . he demanded from me the fort of Chander. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mirza Nigahmmed Zamil had escaped from prison, and had raised a rebellion in the country. Moreover Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kuth Khan with him throughout the Gujarat campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sabre. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jeypoor, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujarat, he got his army in readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to compel me; but as my loyalty was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was

1. Ferozshah is situated on the upper course of the river Son in an extremely hilly and inaccessible region. Its position on the map is 82° long, and 24° lat. "It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India," observes Quesada. Ferozshah says, "Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtak" (*Ibid.*, p. 101.)

2. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

all professed. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Dargal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Samthal, and have not left a single Maghal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him? He makes peace and maintains a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Agrih, and refurbished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me. I have often experienced that the Afghans are braver in battle than the Maghals, who get the country from the disposition of the Afghans. If my brothers advise me, I will break off the peace and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, stood by Sher Shik's fortune. *Chinos and Sikhs* gave the Empire of Hindustan to his Afghans rival. *Shik's* wife declaration since true: "The world is for who conquers himself." We must now follow the rest of Sher Shik's brilliant career.

- (3) *Pursuit of Hindustan*.—Sher Shik being at his ease regarding the Maghals, wrote to Saja'i Khān,

1. After Kasa-j, or Dargal, whom he had left as *jagirdar*, in the country of White and Reddish, to besiege the fort of Gualior. As soon as he received the *farman*, Saja'i

Khān went and besieged Gualior. From Kasa-j Sher Shik despatched *Barnaud Gaur* with a large force in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor *Hamid-Allah*, and he also sent another force under *Mahā Khān* towards Samthal. Having speedily settled the country about Kasa-j, he betook himself in the direction of Agrih.

"When Sher Shik approached Agrih, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shik was greatly displeased at this, and reproached *Barnaud* very much, and on his arrival at Agrih remained there for some days himself, but sent *Kharid Khān* . . . " *Prophet, Mahādhik Gaur*" *Quarage* observes, "Hindus were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shik's best generals was *Mahādhik Gaur*" mentioned by *Jankar* and *Abdus Samad*. "Mahā Khān Shik of Gualior was another"—(Ibid., pp. 592-701).

and Burhanid Gur in the direction of Lāhor, with a large force to pursue the Emperor.¹

'On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Samāhid came and complained that Nādir Khān had oppressed and tyrannised over them in various ways. Sher Shāh therefore, despatched Isā Khān, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nādir Khān under him. After this, Sher Shāh breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at ease as regards the whole country from Delhi to Ladakh."

'Extending leave to Isā Khān, he then proceeded towards Lāhor. . . . On the third march beyond Lāhor, he heard that Mirisā Khān had gone by way of the Jadh hills to Sāhid, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bāldar. The King (Sher Shāh) went to Khushāh, and there despatched Khawāh Khān. . . . and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

'The Mughal division, which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Sāhid, encountered Khawāh Khān and not being strong enough to fight, fled leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khawāh Khān's hands, and the Afghan army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shāh.'

(ii) *Baloch and Gakhars*.—Sher Shāh stayed sometimes at Khushāh. While there Ismail Khān, Fakh Khān, and Ghāsi Khān Balochi came and waited on him. . . . Sher Shāh confirmed Ismail Khān in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Baloch came to wait on him; and Sher Shāh wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

'Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Garhāk, in order that he might choose a fit-

1. According to Gulistan-i-Begum—During the three months that the Emperor was at Lāhor, word was brought day after day. "Sher Khān has advanced 4 miles, 6 miles," till he was near Sāhid. . . . The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Munshir Beg, with Khāi Akshidh to Sher Khān, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindustān. Leave Lāhor alone, and let Sāhid, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that valiant man, besides of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Sāhid, you should go there." (Quoted by Quatrecas.)

ding site and build a fort there to keep down the Galkhans, in which he might have a garrison on the Mīrād road, when he himself returned. Having selected Rohān,¹ he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Galkhans.²

(iii) *Bengal*.—In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khizr Khān, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal. There, "instead of placing the whole province under one military government, as had hitherto been the custom, Shēr Shāh created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another, in the administration of their respective areas. They were all directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion."³ He remained in Bengal for about seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Agra.

(iv) *Mīrād*.—In April 1542, Shēr Shāh marched towards the country of Mīrād by way of Gwalior, in order to take on the rulers of Mīrād his revenge for their backwardness in assisting Rūh Khān.⁴ At this time there were princes in the Kingdom of Mīrād who ruled independently. Mūsh Khān, who had assumed the title of king and the name of Rūdī Shāh, held possession and rule of the

1. Iqbal considered it one of the greatest bulwarks between Turkey and India. The imperfectly settled Galkhans "made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one set to the contrary, he must be destroyed.... Toder Mīd (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Shēr Shāh, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in copper. The law was complied though the expenses were enormous. Shēr Shāh called it "Little Kalāha." The *Tārīkh-i Dillī* calls it "New Kottah", and adds, that it "cost 8 lacs, 5 thousand, and 14 dinars, which means *Ṣaḍṣā*—all which is written over the gate of the fort." (I. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 418; also *Gurgaon*, op. cit., pp. 405-6).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

3. Apart from this, Gurgaon gives two more political motives: (i) To move into direct touch with the kingdom of Gujarat and Mīrād, through which the Mughals might break into Mīrād; (ii) to forestall the design of Mīrād to Mīrād and crush Mīrād's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

city of Sharatnāth, that is to say, the fort of Māndā, and of Ujjain, Srāngga, and the fort of Rantambhor.

"When Sher Shāh reached Srāngga, Alāddīn Khān came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and motions of Sher Shāh's army, and said to the Afghans, "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions; night and day you have no rest; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghans replied, "Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. *Ease is for women, it is shameful to reasonable men.*"

"Sher Shāh assigned the country of Māndā to Sujāt Khān ... and then returned to Agra, via Dhar and Rantambhor."

(v) *Rāshid*.—From Agra he went towards Bihār and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and again. After recovery he once again returned to Agra. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Māndā, in the year A. H. 956 (1548 A. D.), and took the fort of *Rāshid*.¹ This expedition, according to Abbās Khān, had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by its Rājā Panna Māl. But Prof. Qasabgī definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Panna Māl for mistreating the families of the Muslims of Chāndār, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed.... No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulant to move Sher Shāh against Rāshid.... One single fort unaided might overturn an empire, as Sher Shāh could realize by contemplating the fate of Muzaffar. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rājasthani influence in Māndā."²

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Panna Māl and his companions, Abbās Khān proceeds to tell us, "The boys at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry ;

1. The fort of Rāshid (long. 77°58' ; lat. 23°58') stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about 7½ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S. two mountain streams cut off this ridge from neighbouring hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of unbroken rock-wall, 1700 to 1800 ft. in height. (*Ibid.*, p. 384).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 385-86.

but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.' He made over the fort of Rahin to Munda Sakhin Khin Sarbadar, and returned himself towards Agri, and remained at the capital during the rainy season.'¹

(vi) *Maldah and Sirat*.—About the same time as the fall of Rahin, Sirat and Maldah were conquered by Sher Shih's general, Hahat Kida Mikh. The turbulent, Bakochis were ever a source of danger to Maldah. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shih. More than anything else it closed the route to Qandahar, via Siwi, against Hamidya, by strengthening Sakhar and Diakhin to which he gave the name of Shargah. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

(vii) *Eljipatan*.—After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shih ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or enumeration,² should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagor, Ajmir, and Jodhpur, which belonged to *Majid*³ the Rishi with whom Hamidya had sought shelter in 1540.

1. For a full account of this incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 337-400; also Qanung, op. cit., pp. 324-33.

2. This time, about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544, according to Qanung) he utilised for building projects, administrative work, but chiefly military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Eljipatan. (Ibid., pp. 344-7).

3. 'Sher Shih had so great an army, in this campaign,' says Akbar-Nama, 'that its best commanders, in spite of all selection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often mounted the tops of columns that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them; but so exceeding was its magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and we asked old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 404.

4. *Maldah* secured the throne of Mirdas in 1532. At his accession it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his stern policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Mirdas proper from his powerful but disaffected vassals, annexed Mirdas, and considerably aggrandised himself at the expense of Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Amber.—Qanung, op. cit., 352-79.)

"When he arrived at Fathpur-Sikri, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should dig up an earthen entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on account of the sand, make an entrenchment. Khanda Khan, grandson of Sher Shah, said : "Let my Lord order that sacks should be filled with sand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shah was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When he approached the enemy, Sher Shah contrived a stratagem ; and having written letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you" ; and having inclosed these letters in a khanda or affian bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the son of Maldeo, and remain there ; and when he was out, to drop the khanda on his way, and conceal himself.

"Sher Shah's agent did as he was ordered ; and when the sons of Maldeo saw the khanda lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took notice of his flight, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaya Chand and Goba, and others, came and attacked Sher Shah, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain Afghani came to Sher Shah, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Muzai, for the hillside are resting your arms." Sher Shah was performing his evening devotions, and reading the *Adhaur' ash-f' ash*. He gave no reply to the Afghani. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khanda Khan had slain Jaya and Goba with all their forces. When Sher Shah heard of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, *"I had nearly lost the Kingdom of Delhi, for a handful of Bighra (millet seed)."*

¹⁷⁰⁰—THIS occurred about March, 1544. "He left Khanda Khan and his Khin Nihal and some other chiefs in the country of Nagar, and himself withdrew. Khanda Khan founded a city in his own name, ~~near~~ the fort of Jodhpur, and brought into his power and possession the whole country of Nagar and Ajmir, the fort of Jodhpur, and the district of Mirpur. Maldeo went to the fort of Shikha, on the

borders of Gujarat." Sher Shah, on ally meetings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and rejoined his camp at Ajmer, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mota at this time was utterly prostrate; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rajasthan. The bastard Barbat, whom the disaffected nobles of Mota had raised to the throne, had murdered the deposed Rajsangh, and would have done the same with the infant Udal Singh, but for his nurse Panna's noble sacrifice. The boy had been in-quired only two years before Sher Shah invaded. No wonder that when he was yet 12 hee from the fort of Chitor, the Shah who was to rule sent him the keys. When Sher Shah came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khwaja Khata, Mirza Ahmed Sarwaki, and Hasan Khata Khaji. Sher Shah himself marched towards Rajahm, and thence to Kilijar.

The Raja of Kilijar, Khat Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shah) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they overtopped the fort. The men who were in the streets and houses were exposed, and the Afghans shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this intension made of capturing the fort was this: Among the women of Raja Khat Singh was a Pater slave-girl, i.e. a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he loved her. If he stormed the fort, the Raja Khat Singh would certainly make a *fiasco*, and would burn the girl.

"The fortress of Kilijar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A.D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 1200 ft. above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The sides rise rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 or 160 ft. in height, and in most places inaccessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 25 ft. thick."

"On Friday, the 15th Rabi-ul second, 952 A.H. when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shah called for his breas-

fast, and ate with his slaves and priests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast, Sheikh Nisak said, "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidels. If you be slain, you become a martyr; if you live, you become a ghazi." When Sher Shik had finished eating his breakfast, he ordered Daryl Khan to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said, "Daryl Khan comes not; he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shik came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell full of gun-powder stuck on the gun of the fort and broke, and there and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. These which were loaded all began to explode. Sheikh Shik, Sheikh Nisak, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not burnt; but they brought out Sher Shik partially burnt. A young prince who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

When Sher Shik was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled in *darbar*; and he sent for Isak Khan *Shah* and Ismael Khan *Kalaspur*, the son-in-law of Isak Khan and the paternal uncle of the author (*Abdus Kadir*), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Isak Khan came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shik's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, then came and stormed out instantly on every side the sun and moon; and by the fire of afternoon prayers captured the fort, putting everyone to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening prayers, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shik, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

'On the 20th *Rabi-ul second*, 962 A. H. (22 May, 1545 A.D.) Sher Shik went from the hospital of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the shade of this world to the lofty heavens; the date was discovered in the month as *greek* moon, he died from fire'

It is not certain whether Sher Shik's body was buried at *Kil-Isak*, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at *Swardeh*—the home of his grandfather.¹ He had reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Jaunpur, and for five years as the

1. *Quatana*, op. cit., p. 343.

Emperor of Hindostan. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus passed away in the mid-career of victory and beneficent activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindus the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equality of political rights, which broadened into dazzling noon on the accession of Akbar."¹

C. SHEER SHAH'S CAPACITY

Sheer Shah was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. "It is hard to

Introduction.

—to either to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the English policy, with Frederick William I—Prussia's greatest internal king—in his own he bestowed upon both history organization and civil administration, with Kautilya and Chanakya in his practical outlook and political principles; and Akbar in his other interests and attitude to the welfare of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Babur and Frederick "The Great of Prussia." Endless years... "Sheer Shah charged at the most extraordinary risk, whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Delhi, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.² But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."³

Sheer Shah's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary on his character

(a) Personal Character.

that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his career is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "I believe the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their dignity and left-

1. Quatana, op. cit., p. 263.

2. E.g. Abul Fazl affects to deride his imitations, which he represents as a revival of those of Akbar's day; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of famous sovereigns, as original compositions of his master Akbar.—*Essays*, op. cit., pp. 457-8.

3. *Review*, op. cit., II, pp. 110-11.

ness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or great."¹ The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition; but it was an ambition conceived by his rational patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unkind treatment drove him to Jaunpur, he utilized the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. "Subsequently," Abdu Khān informs us, "whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Ikhtisā-l-Ashraf*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings." When he was appointed to the administration of his father's *Alpda*, he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty. "To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power.... I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration; for it has been said by the learned...." His *Ikhtisā-l-Ashraf*, short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care,—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abdu Khān tells us, he never brushed himself except in the company of the scholars. But in moments of

1. The *Wāḥid-l-Muḥṣin* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shah's busy life:—

'Sher Shah was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were bound and sealed up; there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arose. When it was time for prayer, he performed his devotion in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the losses brought to revive their branch. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and settled accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to visit upon him was received in the palace.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 550-55.

action, he was his own best counsel. After the Malin expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his courtiers, and they said, "It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this insupporting (Shin) poison from the Dekhin"; but Sher Shah replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind . . . until I have cleansed the country from the existing contamination of the unbelievers (Hindus), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . ." "The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled." But Sher Shah's whole administration is a refutation of the implication of religious bigotry against the Hindus, contained in this representation of him by our historians. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political: it was to give the Rajput a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Maghat, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Shah's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of God; who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success he achieved. After the final triumph and disposal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial train, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Glor of all Victory. "He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humayun were both carried into the presence of the Prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Sher Shah; and, at the same time, taking the crown and cup of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice."¹

Genius has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, modesty,

and infinite capacity for little pains. However

(b) Military
Genius

this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship,

as Humayun's failure had amply demonstrated, required more

¹ Baines, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173.

other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shrewd insight into human nature, reasonableness, and a clear grasp of the real is a very mundane wrap. The uniform success of Sher Shikā showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(i) The pacific manner in which he brought under control the wildestest ruffians on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order in these troubled times. "There were some ruffians who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's province, but were insolent from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Farid collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers, who had a horse should mount riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

"When the soldiers and peasants were assembled, he marched towards the villages of the ruffians, and at a distance of a *jar* threw up an earthen entrenchment, and ordered them to cut down the neighbouring jungle. His horsemen he directed to patrol round the villages; to kill all men they met, and to make prisoners of the women and children, to drive in the cattle, to permit no one to cultivate the fields, to destroy crops already sown, and not to permit any one to bring anything from the neighbouring parts, nor to allow any one of them to carry anything out of the village, and not to permit a soul to go out. His footmen he also ordered to cut down the jungle. When the jungle was all cut down he marched from his former position, and made another entrenchment nearer the village, and occupied it. The rebels were humbled, and sent a representative saying, that if Farid Khān would pardon their fault, they would submit. Farid Khān replied that he would not accept their submission, and there could be nothing but hostility between him and them, to whichever God might please. He would give the victory.

"Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Farid Khān would not accept the money, but said to his men:—"This is the way of these rebels; first they fight and oppose their ruler: if they find him

weak, they persist in their rebelliousness; but if they see that he is strong, they come to him desubtially, and humble themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money, and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

"When the other chiefs heard of the death, imprisonment, and rule of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their obstinacy, and abstained from theft and robbery."

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shah showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Beldikan Khān, the Bengal general commanded vastly superior numbers and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khān who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said :—"I have for some time obtained from meeting the Bengalis in the open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments but our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalis are much inferior to the Afghans in war.... I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghans and Bengalis, the Afghans must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalis can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. To-morrow morning, if you assent with me, hoping in the mercy of the protector, and on this text—'By God's command the lesser number overcomes the greater,' I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghans replied : "That which your noble mind has determined is extremely right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Bosham, and the result identical.

(iii) The manoeuvres by which Sher Shah out-generaled the ruler of Hamirpūr were masterpieces of military strategy. For details the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chausa and Bilgram, given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shah on both the occasions, Hamirpūr was too dull to profit by experience.

(iv) To recognise in his men, and not to waste them in

available encounter was with Sher Shah a constant principle. This often led him to attain his ends through means too open to most warriors. The acquisition of Chander, Rohita, and Raisa are examples of treacherous conduct—though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shah's otherwise fair reputation. His use of the forged letters in the case of Maldeo is of a piece with this unscrupulous behaviour, that sometimes passes in the name of political expediency. Nevertheless, these actions seem to have originated chiefly from Sher Shah's avowed reluctance to shed the blood of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He regained confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the Mughals are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat: but the Afghans leave the Empire of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.' His successive triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Afghans that he was a national cause: and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he compelled by compulsion. 'Many of them,' Abdo Khân says, 'who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers: and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghani who refused to be a soldier. He was very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be needlessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khân was eagerly pursuing their race, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Paul Gossens writes: "He was one of the most humane persons... In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnanimity was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their coarsenesses. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up rebellious round their encampment. They implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot, but as the comrades of an adored commander.... Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterised Sher Shah's campaigns. He was prone to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had above all, a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy:

we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Moghul queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after Humayun's defeat at Chama).¹

Prof. Qanungo has described Sher Shidh as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the

(C) Administrative Ability.

"Alphons"². A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within his dominions and its abiding effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Akbar will find in Sher Shidh's constructive achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Akbar's lack of administrative genius. That Prof's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of *Alim-d din KHAN* of which he had heard "as they are detailed in the *Fatah-i-Firidshahi*, does scant justice to Sher Shidh's political originality.³ But more than any detail of civil or military organisation which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime forms the basis of his enduring fame. Cronin's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark: "He was the first Musalman ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged.... All this and more Akbar strive to do later on. . . . Sher Shidh relaxed the oppressive Muhammadan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan,' as Rens says."⁴

1. Qanungo, *op. cit.* pp. 401-04.

2. *Ibid.* Foreword, p. ix. Also *see Jaffer, op. cit.* pp. 55-58; and C. H. I., IV, pp. 55-57.

3. "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shidh gradually built up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was co-extensive with the area of his Empire"—Qanungo, *op. cit.* p. 325.

4. *Monarchs of the Race of the K. H. Pruthi*, II, p. 10; cited by Qanungo.

¹ For an elaborate treatment of Emperor Shai Shai's administration the reader is directed to Prof. Qamugor's exhaustive study (*Emperor Shai Shai*, chapter vii, pp. 346-408). Here we include an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tahik-i-Shai Shai* of Abdu Kulu Sarafail, with critical observations, wherever necessary:—

"When fortune gave into the hands of Emperor Shai Shai the helm of power, by extracting them from the noose of the lawless,

Therefore:

he made certain laws, both from his own stem and the kingdom of Hied fell under his dominion, his soaring ruled from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy: he maintaining the prosperity of his nation, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops. "*Crime and violence*," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity. It behooves kings to be grateful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to disobey the commandments of God."

"Emperor Shai attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, whether great or

Personal Affairs small, in his own person. So he divided both day and night into parties, for each separate business

and suffered no influence to find its way to him. "For," said he, "I have been the guest to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue reliance on their ministers. . . . The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the 'worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt nobles or slaves; for a nation of nobles is dependent on the giver of nobles; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of noble, for he is an interested person; and to an interested person loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

"Emperor Shai was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he often declared

Administration of Justice:

unaffected: "*Justice is the most excellent of religious acts, and it is approved alike by the kings of light and of the faithful.*"

"When the young court of Emperor Shai's prosperity came into being, he always maintained the exact truth regarding the opponent, and the winner for justice, and he never favoured the oppressor, although they might be his near relations, his dear ones, his renowned nobles, or of his

2. Erskine gives the following anecdote to illustrate Emperor Shai Shai's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities:—

"One day, his eldest son Abdi Kulu, riding on an elephant through the streets of Addis, in passing a house, the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of a shop-keeper, unseated and bathing. Seized with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her; there he saw a *shai* (gold), and passed on. The woman, being thus treated as a wretch, feeling her

was told¹) and he never showed any delay or hesitancy in punishing offenders. He appointed courts of justice in every place.²

He strictly imposed on the *feud* and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the magistrates of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good; but if the magistrates produced the offenders, or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the *feud* was ordered to seize the magistrates, as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived, they were to let the magistrate go, and put the murderer to death; but if the magistrate of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this they were themselves put to death; for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can only take place by the connivance of these leaders.... If a magistrate harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.

The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this way:—

Collection of Revenue:

There was in every domain, one *soil*, one God-fearing *elite*, one treasurer, one *scribe* to write

honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her location. He went straight to the house of *Shih Shih*, and among other salutes, proffered his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced; and that the ship-builder, remained on an elephant, should in his turn throw him to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. Such he *did*, was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no *distinction* between *rich* and *poor*; that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.—*Golden*, op. cit., II, pp. 444-45.

1. See II. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 425-32.

2. Criminal justice was administered by the Chief Magistrate and common disputes settled by the Chief Magistrate. No historian tells us, says *Qanung*, anything about the appointment of the *min-i-shah* or the *qazi* for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim customs-law. In an account of the *Farsh-i-Dhul* (MS., p. 294) we find the only allusion to *min-i-shah* and *qazi*. This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution, developed by *Salim Iskandar Lodi*—*Shih Shih*, p. 528.

Hind, and one to visit *Parbat* : and he ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to adjust the revenues according to the statement, and in *proportion* to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half share to the *magistrate*—that being the allotment with regard to the kind of grain, in *1000* *1000* the *magistrate* and the cultivator, and both should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.

'Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *pitanga* for every *parang*, from which was ascertained the present, past, and probable future state of the *burgess*.'

1. The *parang* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without destroying the numerous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing; it has been used in Akbar's narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Amil, *amil* and *amil*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenues and to act as an umpire between the State and the individual.

The *amil* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *farmans*, to assist the *amil* in revenue collection, if necessary and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see *ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

2. The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such, entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no duty of the State demand; the revenue was generally assessed in the grain by guess or computation. Akbar's *Amil* first devised the science of *jarb* (survey and assessment). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any distinction' (R. & D. op. cit. III, p. 101). The power of the Muslim military and the reaction of the Hindu *magistrate*, was the basis of the *parang*. The *landholders* and the *landlords* wielded almost absolute political authority over their tenants.

Under Shah Jahan, lands were surveyed under a uniform system of measurement. He ordered the use of the *par-Sikandar* (20 digits). The land was measured by rope,—for which, later on Akbar substituted the bamboo,—half *adiga*. The terms *adiga* and *jarb* were interchangeable; one *jarb* or *adiga* consisted of 1,000 sq. yds. (See II, p. 101). The holding of every riyat was separately measured and 1 of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As the custom under previous Sultans, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *khataiyar* or agreement, containing a short account of the riyat's holding, and the amount to be paid by him to Government, was taken by the *amil* from every individual *riyat*—signed and attested; and he gave in return a *jarb* or title-deed to the riyat, with a record of the State demand.

"In every circle he appointed a *chief* (*Shigrah-chigrahaw*) and a *Chief Advisor* (*Mamut-kamut-haw*), that they might watch over the conduct of both the *Shahs* and the people; that the *Shahs*, should not oppress or injure the people, or enslave the King's women; and if any quarrel arose among the *Shahs*, regarding the boundaries of the provinces, they were to settle that no contention might feed its war amongst the King's affairs.

"If the people, from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit, created a disturbance regarding the collection of the revenue, they were so to eradicate and destroy them with punishment and chastisement, that their wickedness and rebellion should not be spread to others."

Every year, or second year, he changed his *Shahs*, and was now wont, for he said, "I have examined much, and accurately

Transfer of Officers: maintained that there is no such income and advantage in other employments as the government of a

district. Therefore, I send my good and experienced loyal servants to take charge of districts, that the salaries, profits, and advantages, may accrue to them in preference to others; and after two years I change them, and send other servants like them, that they also may prosper, and that under my rule all my *old* servants may enjoy these profits and advantages, and that the gates of mercy, and grace may be opened to them.

As with the civil so with the military, he observed this rule of equalisation of profits and of labour. Akbar's words: "And in every place where it served his interests, he kept garrisons. After a time he used to send for the *Arabs*, which had enjoyed ease and comfort in their *Shahs*, and to send away in their stead the *chiefs* who had undergone labour and hardships with the victorious army.

"His whole army was beyond all limit or numbering, and it increased everyday. The rule regarding the army for guarding

Military Organi- the Kingdom from the disturbance of rebels, and to
sation: keep down and suppress contumacious and rebellious

"*Shah Jahan* enjoyed the interests of the ruler and the subject, as idealised. "If a little revenue is shown in the result, the ruler benefits by it." His general instruction to the revenue officers was: "Be lenient at the time of assessment, but show no mercy at the time of collection." His revenue system decidedly lingers as *Jahar Moh's* *hazdast*, obtained in Northern India throughout the Mughal period, and in all its essential features has survived in British India under the name of the *malikdast*, adopted so enthusiastically by the Anglo-Indian administration." *Quarrop*, op. cit., pp. 270-71.

1. The duties of the *Chief Shigrah* resembled those of the *Faujdar* under the Mughals, and discharged functions as under *Sikandar Lodi*. Though a military noble, with a paid force of 2000 to 3000 troops under him, he was essentially a civil officer like a modern magistrate.

The word *mamut* means 'door of justice'; the *Chief Mamut* seems to have also acted as a civil judge for trying civil suits, and redressing the grievances of the peasants and magistrates at the hands of pargana officials. (Fidd., pp. 384-87.)

confederate, so that no one should think the Kingdom undivided, and therefore attempt to conquer it, was as follows :—

Shah Shih always kept 150,000 horse, and 25,000 footmen, either armed with match-llocks or bows, present with him, and as soon as opportunity took even more with him. There were also 5,000 elephants in his establishments. And in every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons : e.g. in the fort of Qudhar he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Rayana he kept a division, besides a garrison of 500 match-llocks ; in Bantamhar another division besides 1,000 match-lock men ; in the fort of Chiloa, 5,000 match-lock men ; in the fort of Shadrabad or Minchil was stationed Sujat Khia with 10,000 horse and 7,000 match-llocks. He had his Right in Mincha and Mirwah. In the fort of Balda a force was stationed together with 1,000 auxiliary men ; and in the fort of Chanda, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men ; and in the fort of Rodala, near Shih, he kept Ishiyah Khia Farul, with 10,000 match-lock men ; and Shah Shih kept treasures without number of reckoning in that fort. . . . Ministers at Nagre, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Lucknow, Kimpil, etc.). The Kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Khid Farul ruler of that whole kingdom.

Prof. Quango observes that to Sultan Akbar-d din Khilji belongs the credit of organizing the Indian army on a new model. He created an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by natives of the Sultan's own choice, while corruption was checked by the Akh Qandagh system. The ranks of the Lodis were of the despotic feudal type, consisting of the estates of various tribal chiefs enjoying rights for service. Shah Shih received the system of Akbar-d din Khilji and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The soldier accepted his immediate commanding officer, not as his personal chief, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor resided in himself the functions of the Qaghanlar-in-Chief and the Pay-Master-General.¹ . . . In order to take away from the military *khans* of the administration, Shah Shih took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only as the support of the civil authority.²

"Among the rules which Shah Shih promulgated, is the breeding of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account,

Breeding of Horses : But the rights of the chiefs and soldiers might be divided, and that the chiefs might not be able to defend the soldiers of their rights ; and that every one should maintain soldiers according to his rank (essentially) and not vary his numbers. "For," said he, "in the time of Sultan Fakhra, and afterwards, I observed that many low nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their master's army was enlisted to them, had a number of soldiers but when they had got possession of their style, they dismissed the greater number of their

1. Quango, op. cit., pp. 301-02.

2. Ibid., p. 302.

men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties, and did not even pay them in full. Nor did they regard the injury to their master's interests, or the magnitude of their own conduct; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mustered them, but the money they put into their own treasuries. In time of war they would be defeated from paucity of numbers; but they kept the money, and when their master's affairs became critical and disordered, they, equipping themselves with this very money, took service elsewhere; so, from the rule of their master's fortunes, they suffered no loss. When I had the good fortune to gain power, I was on my guard against the deceit and fraud of both soldiers and chiefs, and ordered the horses to be branded, in order to block up the road against their tricks and frauds, so that the chiefs could not entertain strangers to fill up their ranks." *Shih Shih's* custom was this: that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were branded, and he carried it so much on them that he would not give anything to the messengers and women servants about the palace without a brand, and they wrote out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries; and then he had the horses branded to his presence.

"For the convenience of travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two *li*, he made a *tsung*; and on

Roads and *tsung*: he read with care he made from the first which he built in the Punjab, to the city of Sacklingon, which is situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Agri to Indrapur and Chien, and one road with south from the city of Lihien to Malian. Altogether he built 1,700 *tsung* on various roads; and in every *tsung* he built separate lodgings, both for Hordes and for bloodmen, and at the gate of every *tsung* he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink; and in every *tsung* he settled bellmen for the entertainment of Hordes, to provide hot and cold water, and herbs and food, and grain for all their horses; and it was a rule in these *tsung*, that whoever crossed them received provision suitable to his rank, and food and wages for his cattle from Government.

"Villages were established all round the *tsung*. In the middle of every *tsung* was a well and a mound of burnt brick; and he placed an *tsung* and a *tsung* in every *tsung*, together with a custodian (*tsung*), and several watchmen; and all these were maintained from the land near the *tsung*.

"On both sides of the highway *Shih Shih* planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also grew much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees; and if they should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put up at a *tsung*, they housed their horses under the trees."

THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED KINGS.

1. "These roads and *tsung*," observes Qarungo, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials; some of them developed into centres of busy market-

'At every road were placed two houses for the news reporters. So there were 1,000 houses, in all the roads together.

Spirits and In- always ready to bring intelligence every day from
formers : every quarter. For the enhancement of the popula-

tion which he had established for the protection of the people, Sher Shah was treated again with every form of his nobles, in order that, inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people, they might retain them to him ; for the courtiers and ministers, for purposes of their own, do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, but any disorder or deficiency which may have forced its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.

'In the days of Sher Shah, and of Islam Shah, the regulations used

to protect the limits of their own villages from any
Mughals and thief or robbers or enemy might injure a traveller,
Thieves : and so be the means of his destruction and death.

And he directed his governors and chiefs to compel the people to treat mer-
chants and travellers well in every way, and not injure them at all : and if a merchant should die by the way, not to search out the head of op-
pression and violence on his goods as if they were concerned ; for Shahin-
'Nasir-i Husayn God be merciful to him !' has said : "If a merchant should
die in your country, it is perfidy to lay hands on his property."

"Throughout his whole kingdom Sher Shah levied customs on mer-
chandise only in two places, viz., where it came from Bengal, customs were
levied at Ghazni (Shah gazi) ; and when it came from the direction of
Khokhla, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom ; and
again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. No one dared to
levy other customs, either on the road or on the frontier, in towns or villages.
Sher Shah, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the
border strips at the usual trade rates and prices.

'One of the regulations Sher Shah made was this : That his victorious

standards should cause no injury to the cultivation
Protection of of the people and when he marched he personally
Cultivators : examined into the state of the cultivation, and at-
tended farmers round to prevent people from trespassing on anyone's field.

If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own

hands, when the peasants could perfectly sell their agricultural produce
and get in return fully remunerative of cost....

"The nuclei of Sher Shah were also the stations of *Dab-istan*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Empire by means of this institution. . . . This was the origin of the News Department under the *Daroga-i-Dab-istan* appointed by the Mughals. It was first introduced by Sultan Akbar-in KHILL. (By means of this) daily reports of prices and circum-
stances in the progress of his dominion reached his every day."—(Hist.
p. 381-82.)

E. "Sher Shah's reorganisation of the half system revived the
dotted remnants of Northern India."—(Ibid., p. 382.)

hands, and flaying the men (which he had picked off) round his neck, would have him to be paraded through the camp. And if from the narrowness of the road, any cultivation was unavoidably destroyed, he would send another, with a survivor, to measure the cultivation so destroyed, and give compensation in money to the cultivators. If he secured no money's worth, he did not molest or plunder the peasantry of that country, nor destroy their cultivation. "For," said he, "the cultivators are idlemen, they submit to them in power, and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous."

This lecture was very attentive, for several thousand business and private followers, led there; and there was a general order, that if any soldier or religious personage, or any cultivator, should be in need of food, he should feed at the King's kitchen, and should not be allowed to starve. The daily cost of these meals was 300 gold pieces (estimated). Sher Shih often said: "It is incumbent upon kings to give grants to leaders; for the prosperity of and population of the cities of Hind are dependent on the leaders and holy men; and the traders and travellers, and the occupations who cannot come to the King, will praise him, being supported by those who have grants; and the maintenance of travellers and the poor is thereby secured, as well as the extension of learning, of skill and religion, for wherever wisdom that God Almighty should make him great, should best the alms and pious persons, that he may obtain honour in this world and glory in the here."

✓ Sher Shih left the indelible impress of his personality," writes Quenard, "not only upon the world, but also on the ~~contemporary~~ life of the imperial nation. His noble work at Samarkand still brings home to the mind of the beholder the grandeur of the Empire,--great yet graceful; externally Muslim, but almost inside." V. A. Smith observes: "The construction of Sher Shih at Samarkand, built on a holy place, in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Constantinople was half inclined to prefer it, even to the Taj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Göl Gumbaz of Erzurum, is 15 ft. wider than that of the Ayth monument. Evidently the architecture is wholly Mohammedan, but Hindü carvelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the lower decorations, as at Samarkand. The style may be described as intermediate between the style of the Turkish buildings and the quaintness of Shih Jahän's masterpieces." Havell says in it the personality and dignity of Sher Shih. "Through forbidden by his creed to make himself a graven image, the Muselman, perhaps took, as much

1. Ibid. p. 299.

2. *A History of Fine Art in India and Egypt*, pp. 454-5.

intent in the planning of his last resting place, that unconsciously he "gave" the layout of his own chamber, the builders formed it along his own image. . . ."¹

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shih, "I will build a fort in every valley, on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the conquerors; and I am making all the northern-most parts of India that they may also serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Rohtak, on the road to Khosla to hold in check Khosla and the country of the Gakhars, about 80 km. from Lahore, and fortified and strengthened it accordingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and because men were expended upon the work. He called that fort *Jah-Abid*.

The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jami, and Sher Shih destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jumna, and ordered two forts to be built in the city, with the strength of a mountain, and lofty in height; the smaller fort for the governor's residence; the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it; and in the governor's fort he built a jewel worth of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, ivory, jewels and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shih died.

"He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the Kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick there; and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Sher Shih*. I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the new city was unpopular," writes Abul-Fazl.

From the day that Sher Shih was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him; nor did any one take the standard of conspiracy or rebellion against him; nor was any hear-demeaning there profured in the garden of his Kingdom, nor was there any of his nobles or military, or a chief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another; nor did any theft or robbery even occur within his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers during the time of Sher Shih's reign were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert; and the countryside lay free but any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer, or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shih's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishments which Sher Shih inflicted. Such a shadow rested over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Kharosa. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghans, was altogether quieted and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindostan. Sher Shih,

1. *History of Akbar's Rule in India*, p. 444.

in his wisdom and experience, was a second Halder. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiers and people. Ood is a diagram of righteousness."

So closes Abbot Kishu Sarda's account of Sher Shik. It is well to close our study of the great Afghan with a few modern estimates of him.

SOME MODERN ESTIMATES

"Sher Shik showed brilliant capacity as an organizer, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the

K. S. Havell.

smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindustan in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghan for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sultans were Arjun incarnate, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies" (*Arjun Rule in India*, pp. 441-42.)

"He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained.

William Erskine.

In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India.... Sher Shik had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."—(*History of India*, pp. 441, 442.)

"Sher Shik appears to have been a prince of consummate presence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles.... but towards his

Mountbatten Es-
planade.

subjects, his measures were as benevolent as

in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*The History of India*, p. 352.)

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great

H. O. Kress.

need of his country. Though a devout Muslim,

he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progress was the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasion of devastation.... It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever." (*History of India*, I, pp. 98-9, Rev. ed.)

"Sher Shah was something more than the capable leader of a

T. A. Smith.

horde of ferocious Afghans. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble monuments at Sasaram (Sasarni) in Bihâr which he prepared for himself.... He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which went back to some extent on the institutions of Akbar's Khilji and were developed by Akbar.... He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver rupees, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Moghul' would not have appeared on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327-28.)

"Few men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and conscientious man."

H. L. G. Gar-
ret.

(*Edwards and Garrett, Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

"In spite of the limitations which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task

Edward French.

the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Modern India*, p. 234.)

"The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of great talent which lasted till the accession of

Kellyburne.
Quinnes.

Aurangzeb's reign.... Sher Shah truly 'justly deserved' Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation.... The work of Sher Shah's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the skeleton of our present administrative system. The modern magistrate and

colours of British India is the official successor of the *Shajah-i-shajahan* of Sher Shah, and the *shahinshah* that of the *deli or awli* The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shah." (Sher Shah, pp. 415, 420, 500, 547-13)

✓ Silver Shahi's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only its specific mint reforms, but also in correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and in introducing these many reforms which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. — *Thomas, Chronicle of the Mughal Kings*, p. 202.

"Sher Shah is credited to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1825, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the inconvenient heterogeneous coinage of silver, brass, and lead, and struck well-estimated pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupee, which weigh 180 grains, and contains 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in Nâgarî characters in addition to the usual Arabic inscriptions."—[V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 3, pp. 145-6.]

"His orders also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the territories settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads, and establishment of mint towns were to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies"—(*Qianlong, Shih Shih*, p. 838.)

III. FURTHER RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of succession of the principal successors of Sher Shah; but, apart from the first, namely Salim or Jahan Shah, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shah's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mogul Empire except as revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humayun to recover his lost patrimony. Few test-

¹ L. C. Ho Nam Shuen, *The Administrative System of Shek Shui*, I. N. O., KIL 4 (1981).

books dealing with the period mention even their names. But, the Śarī Inter-regnum, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nutshell, as it were, the same lesson, that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Kame wrote, "It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never ensure a worthy successor." Sher Shāh's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were labouring under the mental trials of prison born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shāh himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghan dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old antagonisms of the Afghan nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salīm's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels; and on his death, in November 1556, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. "The nation Madhwa fell into such a state of quarrelsome infidelity that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindū chandlar named Hama."¹

(A) SALIM SHAH AND FIRUZ SHAH

Abdulla, author of *Tārīkh-i-Dilhāwī*, writes :— "It is related in the *Abdus Shāhī*, that when Sher Shāh rendered up

1. Salīm Shāh his life to the angel of death in Kiliñjar, ... the

notices perceived that an Adl Khān (Sher Shāh's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rastanahar), and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalāl Khān who was nearer (in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bikaner). He reached Kiliñjar in five days, and by the assistance of Jal Hājib and other grandees was raised to the throne near the fort of Kiliñjar, on the 15th of the month *Rabi'ul muwāl*, 965, A. H. (16th May, 1546 A. D.). He assumed the title of Jalīm Shāh, and this name was engraved on his seal :

"The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy."

Shah Jalīm Shāh, the son of Sher Shāh Shāh, has become king."²

1. Kame, *op. cit.*, I, p. 89.

2. His fort at Delhi is still called Salimpur; but on his coins he is Jalīm Shāh. Ferishta writes 'Jalāl Khān... ascended the throne, taking the title of Jalīm Shāh, which by false pronunciation is called Salīm Shāh, by which name he is more generally known.'—Briggs, II, pp. 120-21; R. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 476-78, n. 1.

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shih, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.' He was an improver like his father, observes Egleston, "but rather in public works than in laws." Other writers look upon his regulations as "silly and unstatesmanlike, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Sultan Shih was desirous of showing the world that he also had 'his own thunder'."¹ But a statement of these reforms and enactments will speak for itself. Badliari, whose account is given below, says, "These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salim Shih, the compiler of this history (*Tarikh-i-Badliari*) witnessed the same above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 925 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend His grace to him!) to the camp of Feroz Tazan, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Bajaur, a dependency of Rayana."

"Salim Shih in the beginning of his reign issued orders that as the army of Sher Shih were two regiments distinct from one another, one of similar form

Salim Shih's
Revolutions:

should be built between them for the convenience of the public; and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and un-

cooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindis, as well as Muhammedan travellers. In one of his edicts he directed that all the *maftab-sarais* and other houses in Hindustan which Sher Shih had granted, and all the *arrais* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

"He took away from the nobles all the dancing-girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a *havy female*, adapted only for carrying baggage. It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He reformed and placed under immediate management of the State,

1. Egleston, *op. cit.* p. 458.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.* IV, p. 480 n. 3. According to Sir Wakaley Hely, Sultan Shih had all the lands of the Afghans, from which Sher Shih was free. See C. H. I, IV, p. 43.

the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Šāh Šāh.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but estimators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Madr* and *Madr*.

'In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the soldiers in command of 5, 10, or 20 divisions being were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Šāh Šāh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the *muqim*, or *amir*, and so on; after which with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about 30 sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to its purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.'

The real character of Šāh Šāh's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tārikh-i-Chauhar* at *Delhi*: 'Iftikar Šāh,' writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire for dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army; one month of this he gave them as a present: the other as subsistence money.' Moreover, he

1. *J. R. & D.*, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 226-27.

2. This was more than counter-balanced by long arrears of pay due to: *op. cit.*, v, 226.

received all the rights in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury issued. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shah he gave lands and purpura. During the time of Sher Shah, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Iltutm Shah directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the courts, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contained and at peace. He had, whilst Prince, 6,000 hawans, with him, and he now promoted all of them: He made private officers, and officers rabble. These regulations of Iltutm Shah caused those of Sher Shah to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shah's principal rabble were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Iltutm Shah. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grades, and thus the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.¹

Iltutm Shah was a monarch of treacherous and vindictive disposition.

When he secured power in his own hands, he dis-
 Jondia and
 Dasturhams: a simulated loyalty to his elder brother, 'Adil Khan,
 who had been nominated Sher Shah's heir-apparent.
 "Because I was near and you were distant," he wrote to 'Adil Khan,
 "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until
 your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your
 orders." (How like Ananado's letter to!) His real object was to get
 rid of his brother during the perilous invasion for which he soon com-
 manded him.

'Adil Khan proceeded to meet his brother after being secretly warned
 as to his safety. 'Iltutm Shah, treating treachery towards his brother,
 had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to
 pass the fort with 'Adil Khan. When they arrived at the gate of the fort
 of Agni, Iltutm Shah's men forbade their entry: to this 'Adil Khan's people
 paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with 'Adil Khan.
 Ahmad Tilgah says, five or six thousand of 'Adil Khan's men, armed
 with swords, forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to
 exclude them.²

'Adil Khan was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware
 of the deceit and cunning of Iltutm Shah, so he pretended to retire to the
 city of Rayta, which was assigned to him. Even there he was not

1. Ibid., IV, pp. 479-80.

2. Ibid., pp. 480-82.

attempted to be at peace. Salim Shāh made an attempt to win his people. 'The latter however,' says Ferishta, 'having timely information of the design, fled to Nizāmi, whose Khawāṣ Khān then rallied, and exclaimed that alid mīn tūn in his eyes, of his brother's business. Khawāṣ Khān, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, raised Chāh Mubāyū (Salim Shāh's agent), and went into open rebellion. Khawāṣ Khān's character was so high, that by visiting letters to the nobles of the court, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince 'Adil Khān, he marched towards Agra . . . (But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salim Shāh. After the action, the prince 'Adil Khān fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; the Khawāṣ which were obliged to retreat among the Kumaon hills, but only for a time.'¹

After these events, Salim Shāh became mistrustful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmūd Khān, the son of 'Adil Khān under surveillance, and raised, first Kāsh Khān Shīr, then Bahmūd Shīr, Jāhī Khān Shīr, and Zān Khān Nizāmī. He slew Jāhī Khān Shīr, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the sword and nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shāh were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawāṣ Khān, who bore the title of Muzūd All, who was beheaded on some frivolous pretext. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity.²

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of

Salim Shāh's reign. There were other rebellions

Conclusion.

and disturbances, principally of the Mīrās under

Asām Humāyūn, and the Gakhars under Sultān

Jānām Qāhūr (who delivered Kābul into the hands of Humāyūn).

To the last, Salim Shāh was engaged in reducing these disorders. In

the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made

on his life. 'Certain nobles desired to place Mahmūd Khān, (who

retained the title of Adil) on the throne.'³ As the rebellious

Mīrās declared: "No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance; it be-

longs to whom it pleases to give it by the sword."⁴ Salim Shāh was

1. Briggs, II, pp. 129-30.

2. E. & D. op. cit., IV, p. 448.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 447.

informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbar* all at once, but to go one by one. Ishim Shāh was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken ill and confined to bed in the fort of Gwāder (which had been long his favourite residence)... He summoned (his wife) Bībī Bāi, and said, "I have the reins still in my hands, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubārīk Khān to be removed." On this Bībī Bāi began to weep. Ishim Shāh said, "You know best!" And then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 A. H. (November, 1554). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. His body was taken from Gwāder, and deposited at Sasarām, near that of his father.¹

Parikhā narrates the sequel thus:—Sulīm Shāh 'was succeeded

by his son, the Prince Firuz, then twelve years

3. Firuz Shāh of age, who was placed on the throne by the Sūr:

chiefs of the tribe of Sūr at Gwāder. He had

not reigned three days, when Mubārīk Khān, the son of Nūrīs Khān Sūr (Sūr Shāh's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sūr Shāh, and brother-in-law of Sulīm Shāh, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Adil.... On the third day after the death of Sulīm Shāh, Mubārīk Khān, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Bībī Bāi, his own sister. When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother, Mubārīk Khān being too dangerous for the Prince, she had always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."² But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels!"

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 584-5.

2. Briggs II. no. 141-142.

Among the heresies that created disturbance in the reign of Iltutmish, the most dangerous spiritual and temporal movement: it is with regard to a peculiar religious movement led by one Shakh Aisi. Its doctrines as well as the religious aspects of the reign of the first two Khans will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Akbar's religious reforms. 'During the most extraordinary years of this reign,' writes Fergusson, 'is the heresiection produced by Shakh Aisi.' The story is as follows:—

'The father of Shakh Aisi was Shakh Hasan, who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Baylun; but he adopted opposite views to those of Shakh Ismail of Ghazni. Shakh Hasan dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Shakh Aisi, a person so remarkable for his sanctity as for his learning. He imbibed the Maithil or Mahomed doctrines of Sayyid Muhammad Incepsil, and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to his spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrine, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Sayyid Muhammad Incepsil, the founder of the sect; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened where fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide its resources among their brethren all first possessed or overtook in charity. In cases where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was their practice to go abroad, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered wrong in the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they went to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates, themselves being Mahomedans, concurred at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them.'

When Shakh Aisi went to Khawaspur, which is in the Jodhpur territory, Khawsh Khan came to meet him, and joined him. 'When Khawsh Khan heard of these events, he summoned him (Aisi) to his presence. The Shakh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased. The courtiers were very much at this conduct. Mulla Abulhasan Subhanpuri, who was entitled Makhdam-i Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Shakh Aisi, and declared that he should be imprisoned. Iltutmish assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them

to conquer him the matter. Sheikh Ali's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. When Sheikh said, "O Sheikh, beside this mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you (ambassador) Governor of Islands of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to foisted without my authority; henceforth you will do so with my consent." Sheikh Ali would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia, while Nizam Saadat joined him with all his troops, Imam Shih again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullahs than the former to meet and investigate his doctrine. Muhammad Malik said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to obtain the rank of Mullah, and the Mullah is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much injured." Imam Shih, for the second time, sent Sheikh Ali into Bihar. There Sheikh Ali fell ill. When they brought him before Imam Shih he was too weak to speak. Imam Shih whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the Mullah, in order that he might be pardoned; but Sheikh Ali would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, being all hopes of persuading him, ordered him to be strangled, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third hour, in the year 855 A.H. (1546 A.D.). It is commonly reported that Sheikh Ali repeated a stanza in the presence of Imam Shih, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions, meditate on the verse of Sheikh Ashraf's *div Karamat* :

"I have one soul and a thousand bodies,
But death and and death taking nothing from me.
It is strange I have made myself smaller!"

"The doctrine of the exposed Mullah, is based on certain alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a mawla'id, or reformer of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Kashmir, beyond Afghanistan, and to have spread from there over Persia and India. The doctrine was closely connected with the completion of the first thousand years of the Muslim era, so that in the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally, the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mir Saïyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, in the latter part of the 15th century A.D.

"The Mullah movement have been characterized by features that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great material power as preachers, and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly, they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they endeavored to be reformers of Islam, being mujahids."¹

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 308-4.

2. Tihm, *Tarikh Tihm*, pp. 305-6.

(B) THREE KINGS

Mahmūd, after the murder of his nephew, assumed the throne of Sher Shāh and assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Adil. But his character soon changed his

1. Mahmūd
Shāh Adil
self-styled epithet of 'Adil' (the just), into *fat*,
Adil (the foolish), and then into *Adhil* (blind). Eplintoner remarks, "His character was not such as to attract the memory of his name; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices."¹ One illustration from Peshitā may be here cited:—
'Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Shahrosh Tughlak, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wasteful extravagance soon left him without any of the treasures of his predecessors.'² When he had nothing of his own to give, he returned the government and rights of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites: 'among whom, one Huzul, a Hindū shop-keeper, whom his predecessor, Salim Shāh, had made superintendent of the markets, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the meantime, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his harem. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased.'³

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and princes tried to further each his

2. Peshitā
Khān Shāh
own nest. The Khān Kirīd, for instance, openly
declared, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at Court, that he was determined to push his own fortune." His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go in his pursuit towards Chāfir. Taking this opportunity,

1. Eplintoner, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

2. *Ibid.* II, p. 144.

3. Eplintoner, *loc. cit.*, p. 461.

4. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

Ibrahim Khān, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, "raised a considerable army, and getting possession of the city of Delhi ascended the throne, and assumed the swags of royalty. From thence he marched to Agri, and reduced the surrounding provinces... Mahomed Shāh Adālī, finding himself betrayed, fled to Candia, and associated himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim Khān retained possession of the western territory."¹

Ibrahim Khān no longer ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Panjāb in the person of the Prince Ahmad Khān, another nephew of the late Sher Shāh, whose sister was married to Mahomed Shāh Adālī. Ahmad Khān, having procured the aid of Ibrāhīm Khān and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Salim Shāh, assumed the title of Shikandar Shāh, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horse towards Agri, encamped at Kara, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrahim Khān opposed him with 30,000 horse, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Samthal, while Shikandar Khān took possession both of Delhi and Agri. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Humāyūn advanced into the Panjāb to recover his dominions, with what consequences we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Shivalik mountains, whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Dergal where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.²

(C) FAILURE OF THE SON DYNASTY

A last flicker of hope had been raised among the Afghans, when Shikandar, having ascended the throne at Agri, held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect:— "I return myself to one of you: having thus far acted for the disinterested, I claim no superiority. Bahadur raised the wife of Lodī to glory and reputation; Sher Shāh rendered the tribe of his illustrious; and now Humāyūn the Moghal, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosity, we may still retain our kingdom; but if you think we incapable of rule, let an other hand

1. Edm. no. 14447.

2. Edm. p. 158.

and a stranger arm be elected from among you, that I also may never allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghins, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord : " We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Shah, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for the *Khanda*, all went both to observe allegiance to Sikandar, and to maintain unanimity among themselves.¹ But, in a few days, Ferishta tells us, " the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty."²

The other members of the Sîr family did not fare better than Sikandar. When he was fighting against the Mughals, the other Sîrs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Ibrahim Khân marched to Kânpûr, while at the same time Mahomed Shâh Adalî detached his viceroy Harnâ, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chander, with a view to recover the western Empire. Harnâ attacked Ibrahim Shâh at Kânpûr, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghulâ Khân) at Rajpûr, pursued by Harnâ who besieged him in that city for three months. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sîr—led his army against Adalî and obliged Harnâ to return hastily. Emboldened by this Ibrahim pursued him to Agrâ; but being again defeated once more retired to Rajpûr. After some adventures in Bundelkhând, which had become independent under Bîrâ Bahadûr, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahomed Shâh Sîr of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhând, but being pursued by Harnâ was soon slain. Mahomed Shâh Adalî, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agrâ, remained in Chander, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Harnâyûr; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Harnâ, with 50,000 horse, and 500 elephants towards Agrâ, not daring to leave Chander himself, on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghins.³

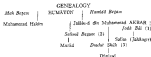
1. Briggs, II, p. 170.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-51.

The rest of the story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar. After the defeat and death of Humāi, Miranid Shāh's lotates declined rapidly. Khūr Khān, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Adalī, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

This sudden and sharp discommod of the people and glorious epoch, opened by the dramatic entrance of Sher Shāh, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and demoralizing famine. Badkhat gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare :—"At this time a dreadful famine reigned in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Bayana, and Delhi, so that one mow of grain (*jahū*) rose to 24 *danias*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindus perished in the same numbers. The common people lay upon the roads of the thorny acacia upon dry barbage of the forest, and on the sides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the fate is represented by the words *khudā-ī-kud* : "worth of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities."

1. B. & D., pp. 44, 5, pp. 480-81.



Note—Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMER: (i) *The Ain-i Akbari*, by Abul Fazl Allami—translated from the original Persian; vol. 1 Calcutta, 1853, by H. Blochmann, contains biographies of officials, compiled from various sources; vol. II, 1884, and vol. III, 1894, by H. S. Jarrett (include 'The Happy Sayings of His Majesty'). The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's administrative system.

(ii) *The Akbar-Nama* or 'History of Akbar,' by Abul Fazl, translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1605, or the end of the 49th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book," observes V. A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unthinking flatterer of his hero, sometimes mistakes, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (e. g., the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming; and the account of the capture of Adilgarh). Nevertheless, the *Akbar-Nama*, notwithstanding its groves and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the chief books by Nizam-ud-din and Badkhub, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do."

(iii) *The Tadhkirat-i Badshahi* or *Muzammil-nama-i Farishtah* (tr., E. & D., op. cit., T. pp. 425-542) has already been noticed. Smith says, "Badkhub's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after, Jalalpur's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni,

.....give information... which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agree generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors." However, it is needless to add, it must be used with great caution.

(iv) The *Tahkik-i Akbari*, by Miran-i din Ahmad, (also called *Tahik-i Akbari*) has also been already noticed. It comes down only to the 35th year of Akbar's reign, a. d. 1583-4 (a. h. 1003). The author, Khwaja Miran-i din Ahmad was the Chief *Bakhshi* under Akbar, and died at Lahore in Oct. 1594. "The book," says Smith, "is a dry, colorless chronicle of external events.... It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be cautiously read.... (The book was much used by Ferishta and later compilers, and in its jagged way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing."

(v) *Ferishta*, already noticed. He was also called Muhammad Emin Hindi, Sahi, and was born about A.D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (*History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India, 1529*)—Calcutta ed. 1866, vol. II, pp. 181-332. "Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth" (Jarnak). Ferishta based his work on earlier books like the *Tahkik-i Akbari*, on tradition, and on personal experience. "He is generally considered the best of the Indian compilers.... His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan." (Smith).

(vi) *Persian older works*, extracts from which are to be found in translation in E. & D., op. cit., vols. V and VI, may be only briefly noticed here. They are—

1. The *Wakaya*, or *Alam-i Araf Beg*, an interesting and vivid account of the later years of Akbar's reign, by an official who had been long in Akbar's service.—E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 150-74.

2. The *Zabih-i Fawaid*, by Sheikh Nur-i Haik—includes the only distinct notice given by any Mohammedan historian of the terrible famine which decimated N. India for three or four years from a. d. 1595 to 1598.—*Ibid.* pp. 129-34.

3. The *Tahik-i Afi*, compiled by Mas'ud Ahmad and others, by Akbar's order issued in 1582 (a. d. 1585)—includes description of 23 stages of Chiter and Panamther.—*Ibid.*, V, pp. 122-73.

4. The *Albur-Khawa* by Sheikh Mirza'ad Fakh Sirhindi—contains the official version of the fall of Andagan.—*Ibid.*, VI, pp. 134-46.

5. The *Faizabad Salikh-i Afghana*, written about 1581, by Ahmad Yildiz, is a good authority for the battle of Panipat (1556) and the connected events up to the death of Humay.—*Ibid.*, V, pp. 58-60.

6. The *Wafai*, by Abu-i Fatah, the elder brother of Abu-i Fatah—contains a letter concerning negotiations with the Deccan ruler.—*Ibid.*, VI, pp. 147-48.

7. The *Tuzuk-i Jahangir* or *Muzmir* of Jahangir etc.—*Ibid.*, pp. 552-652.

8. The *Mir'at-i Jahangir*, by Khwaja Kamgar Chahat Khan, a contemporary official—contains the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession.—*Ibid.*, pp. 441-44.

JESUIT SOURCES

It is not possible here to give even a mere catalogue of all the Jesuit writings, which are to be found in many European languages, some published, many awaiting publication. The few that are named below are those most frequently cited, and considered indispensable for a study of particularly Jesuit relations with the Great Moghal. For a more detailed account of these sources, the reader is directed to V. A. Smith's *Albans the Great Mogal*, Bibliography, pp. 465-71; and Sir Edward Maclagan's later (1902) work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogal*, Ch. I, pp. 5-13.

(i) The earliest printed authority for the Missions, Smith points out, with the exception of the *Annuaire Litere* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist Persetti. It was printed at Rome in 1587, and later French, German, and Latin translations also appeared.

(ii) The chief of the Jesuit histories, bearing on the subject of the Missions, Maclagan says, is that by Father Gurnea, written in Spanish based on (a) published works; (b) letters from the Fathers; and (c) personal inquiries. It brings the story up to 1696. It was first published in 1631. "This history constitutes an excellent authority." (Maclagan.)

(iii) Father Gurnea's Portuguese work "is for practical purposes a continuation of Gurnea's history, and is, like that work,

an authority of high importance." It covers the period from 1660 to 1688, and was published in five volumes. "The book is a rare one, but copies of all five volumes are in the British Museum." (Ibid.)

(iv) "All writers on the subject of the Jesuit Mission," says Smith, "must rely chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre du Jarric. . . . Du Jarric is a thoroughly conscientious and accurate writer who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original letters of which considerable portions remain unpublished." The original French edition, published in 1611 brings the narrative down to 1606. Its third part, which is very valuable, was published in 1614. It contains "the true account of the fall of Adigar, hitheerto uncorrected by modern historians, with one partial exception, and presents the most authentic existing narrative of the Emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17th, old style." (Smith).

(v) "One of the most useful Jesuit publications, and one slightly more accurate than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Bartoli, S.J., originally printed in 1643. It gives a long list of early authorities on the life of *Akbar*. It does not deal with the later Mission. It is based on the writings of Minervino, Parnochi, and others and is well written." (Ibid.)

OTHER EUROPEANS

(i) "The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions to any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591. . . . Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Burma, and other lands, which he described in *rough notes*." His account is found in 'Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, etc.' (Owen, London, 1899).

(ii) For other travellers and writers, who really refer to times following the death of Akbar, and contain no first-hand impressions of the Emperor, see Smith, *op. cit.* Bibliography, pp. 471-76. He deals with Parnoch, Terry, Bos, De Laet, Herbert, Manrique, Mandelijn, Bernier, and Mizoud.

B. SECHSTANT : (i) *The Emperor Akbar*, by Ananta Bewalidge is a translation of the German '*Kaiser Akbar*' by Von Meier; but with additions, corrections, and notes (Calcutta, Thacker.

1864). It is the only considerable modern work, says Smith, devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value.

(ii) *The Period of the Court of Akbar, and Daulat Mahomedji Rind*, by the late Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1903) is a fully documented discussion of Akbar's relations with the Persians.

(iii) *The Army of the Indian Moghals, Its Organisation and Administration*, by William Irvine (Lancs, 1903). It "is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. Irvine's book gives all the essential information about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the *mansabdar* system." (Smith).

(iv) *Akbar and the Jesuits*, by C. H. Payne (1905) contains a translation of De Jarric with valuable notes, and covers the period down to the death of Akbar, 1605.

(v) *Mughal Administration*, by Jatanath Sarkar (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1914).

(vi) *Akbar*, by Col. G. B. Malleson (Oxford, 1901).

(vii) *Akbar the Great Mogul*, by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1917).

(viii) *Akbar*, by Lawrence Blyden (Peter Dacot, London, 1892)—though not an authority is an interesting work, more sympathetic and fair to its subject than many another.

(ix) *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir Edward Macgregor (Burns Oates, London, 1932) is the most recent and exhaustive study of the subject it deals with.

Note.—For other sources like literature, art, numismatics, etc., see Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 481-86. Also ib. pp. 1-7, for a more succinct and appreciative statement of all the sources.

(x) *Mohammedan Period* by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., (Lahore).

(xi) *Tārīkh-i-Jahān* by V. S. Bendrey (Poona, 1933).

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Alexander was among poets."—SIR WILLIAM SLINGER.

"The competent scholar who will undertake the interesting treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unexploited."
—V. A. SMITH.

I. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1584-1605)

(a) BIRTH AND ACCIDENT

1. We have already taken note of the following statement by Mirza-d din Abangal regarding the birth of Akbar :—

"Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Humāyūn), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 964 (15th October 1542).¹ Tard Beg Khān conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarak, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance... gave to the child the name of Jalāl-d din Muhammad Akbar."

Humāyūn, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Jauhar, his personal attendant) to have broken a pot of milk (the only precious thing he could get in his exile in the desert) on a china plate, and 'distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fate will,

1. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date : "The child having been born on the night of the full moon (Rāhāt 14, A. S. 964), equivalent to Thursday, November 25, 1542, the happy father ordered on the son the name of Allāh Madūd-din, meaning 'the Full Moon of Religion,' coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Akbar, signifying 'very great.' (Akbar, p. 24.) He also makes the following observation with regard to the plate of Akbar's birth : "Umar-din, the son of Umar of Omar a chief of the Baran tribe. The place, situated in 28° 21' N. and 68° 45' E., is now a town with about 1,000 inhabitants, the head-quarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amarak, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindi word amar, meaning 'immortal' a frequent element in Hindi names." (Ibid. p. 24 n. 2).

I trust, he one day expended all over the world, as the perfume of the musk rose fills this apartment."¹

ii. We have also noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahar, when Humāyūn left his Persia in quest of fortune: how he was picked up by his uncle Askari, and brought up for eight years by Salīm Begar 'who treated him with great tenderness': and how, in the course of Humāyūn's fight with Shīrīn, the little Prince was threatened to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kiliāi fort.

iii. The next we heard of Prince Akbar was after the death of his uncle Hīndū, when Rāis Subān, Hīndū's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar was put in charge of Hīndū's command and the government of Chānd.

iv. Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Hīndūstān, in which the great victory at Girkind was ascribed to the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. 'Under his (Humāyūn's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.'

v. After this victory at Girkind, Salīm Shāhār Sūr bet to the Shīrīnī mountains. Mir Abūl Ma'ālī who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Shāhār 'daily grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khān in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atāl*, or *governor*, to put an end to Shāhār's operation.'

vi. When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Humāyūn. 'Shāh Jūl was sent to the Panjāb to summon Prince Akbar . . . Shāh Jūl . . . obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kalāhor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness: and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After the observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khān, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd Rabi'ul-awwal he ascended the throne of Empire at Kalāhor.' Further on, the same writer (Nāṣir-ud-dīn Aḥmad) tells us, 'Bairam Khān, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and

1. *Ibid.* p. 13.

2. *Id. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 298.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kallinor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Feb'ry, and 1023 H. (Feb. 24, 1886) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.¹ The proclamation of his accession had been made at Delhi three days earlier on February 11; and three days after the enthronement at Kallinor a "coronation feast" was held, of which Alfred Yildiz gives the following description:—

"Baitan Khān gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-seat, adorned with embroidered satin, like the flowerbed of a garden in the early Spring, of Paradise red. He spread carpets of various colours, and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mirā to sit on it; after which the dārbar was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatay tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and royal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Baitan Khān said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign."²

(b) POLITICAL SITUATION

"When he went through the ceremony at Kallinor," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Baitan Khān merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Panjāb; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshāh in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the

1. *Idid.* p. 267. "The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kallinor (Khudiyāh Div.). The throne, a plate being structure, 18 ft. long 5 ft. high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists. . . . The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-rail fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdu has been affixed." The seated kings of Lahore used to be enthroned at Kallinor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000. —(*Smith*, op. cit., p. 267).

2. *S. and D.*, op. cit. V, p. 64. Yildiz actually places this incident three days before the battle of Multan; but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Baitan Khān's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the date, as above stated.—(*Cut. his. Akbar*, p. 52.) Note also that the 1023 era or beginning of Akbar's reign dates from Rabi' II, 29, (March 11) i.e. 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next new-moon or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being counted part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Rabi' II, 1266.—*Idid.*, n.)

rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions.⁷¹

Among the survivors of Sher Shah, Sikandar Bir was yet to be subdued; Mahanid Shah Adal was still alive, and his Hindū general, Hamid, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries, mostly under the Alakhis. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Hilhor, were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shah at Kālijan. Malad and Gujarat had shaken off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humayun. Gondwana and Central India was in a state of scarcely independent. The Deccan states of Khairatabad, Ahmednagar, Berar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, were in the throes of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea and on the west coast, the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjab and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

1. "Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign," says Nişan-n-d din Ahmad, "was the rebellion of Shah Abu'l Ma'ali The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions." The Khan-i-Khanan (Bairam Khán) arrested him, and was about to execute him; but the young Emperor was necessarily disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saljuks before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Panhauin Kal-gaz (Kasuli) and sent him to Lahore. Abu'l Ma'ali escaped from custody," but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bagiana.⁷²

2. Nişan-n-d din further states, "So long as Sikandar Alakhin (Sikr) was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to

1. Ibid.

2. E.g., he failed to answer the summons to the nobles at the time of the double shower referred to—see Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

3. E. & G., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 344.

take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Swatlik mountain, and gained victory which elicited glowing marks of approval from the Emperor.¹ Even after this defeat, Sikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, "being reduced to great extremities (as the Tihik-i Dihali adds), sent his son Akbar Bahadur from Mirat in the Swatlik hills to Akbar Haidida, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, but he sent the few parties he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar consented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender."²

ii. "When Humayun marched to Bhadrakoti, he (had) assigned the government of Kābul and Qand to Masim Khān, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (amīn) of his son, Mirza Mahmūd Mulk. The city of Kandahār and its dependent territories were the *ājir* of Bairam Khān (*Khān-i-Bāīrām*). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshān was assigned to Mirza Sulaimān. . . . But when the intelligence of Humayun's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kābul and laid siege to it. Masim Khān wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. . . . when the news of the siege of Kābul arrived, an imperative service was issued, . . . and Mirza Sulaimān, seeing that he could effect nothing by hostile means, . . . informed Masim Khān that, if his name were recited in the market, he would take his departure. Masim Khān knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Sulaimān should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*asāb-i ashraf*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Sulaimān was informed of

1. Ibid., IV, p. 505. The final surrender of Sikandar at Mirat did not take place until May 1557, i.e. about six months after the battle of Pāniptal (Nov. 1556): see the fact that was borrowed on him by Akbar comprised the Districts of Kharāb and Bhit. Mirat (now in the Jammu territory of the Kathua State) was the fort held by Sadr Shāh as a bulwark against the Gikharis—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40; *Tabakhshāh*, *op. cit.*, p. 426 n. 4.

this occasion, he immediately departed for Bulandshahr.¹

ix. 'Tardī Bāg Khān, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humāyūn's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died crossed the Akshai to be read in Delhi in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwāja Sulṭān alī, warlike and experienced, who was also *mir-i dar* and *mir-i am* and kept under control the affairs of Delhi, and of Mewat and other parganas which had but lately been brought under royal authority.'² But in spite of all these good services, Tardī Bāg had soon to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The circumstances were the advance of Humsā upon Delhi and the defeat and flight of Tardī Bāg from the capital. The exact nature of the Khān's delinquency is a subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahmūd Shāh Adil despatched Humsā towards the Panjāb upon hearing of the death of Humāyūn. 'That general, having scored a victory at Gwāliar, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhi. Tardī Bāg Khān, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mughal chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Humsā . . . charged Tardī Bāg Khān with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Mughals was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhi also surrendered. Tardī Bāg Khān fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy . . . Bairam Khān . . . caused Tardī Bāg Khān to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself. . . . Bairam Khān remarked that loyalty at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Mughals, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work (*ẓālim*) had understood, from the best informed men of the time, that, had Tardī Bāg Khān not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mughal army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old game of Sher Shāh would have been acted over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghtai officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kalāshid and Kalika, now found it necessary to

1. E. D., no. 21, v. pp. 348-50.

2. *Ibid.*, 348-49.

conform to the orders of Balaram Khān, and to submit quickly to his authority.¹

V. A. Smith observes, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial, was necessary and absolutely just." It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the desertion of Tardā Bēg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life.²

61. SECOND BATTLE OF PANDEV

Hemū, who had now assumed the title of Rājā Vikramāditya, in Delhi, having subdued Ghazāl Khān and other Afghān chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert.³ So writes Ferishta.⁴ The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who, at the time of the capitalisation of Delhi, was at Jalendhar, "finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, deserted from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling confident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Balaram Khān the title of Khān-i-Bihā (signifying 'father,' here meaning regent or protector). . . . and also advised of Balaram Khān to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humāyūn, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this a council being called by Balaram Khān, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely number 30,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kābul. But

1. Briggs, II, pp. 186-187.

2. Oxford History of India, p. 343.

3. Akbar, p. 58.

4. Briggs, II, p. 187. According to Ahmad Yādgar, when Hemū entered Delhi, he "raised the Imperial canopy over him and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhi territory and the neighbouring provinces under his control; and in order to console the King (Akbar Khān), he sent an account of the victory in these words: 'Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall; but I hear that Humāyūn's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhi. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Delhi.' Akbar Khān was comforted by these cheerful assurances" (P. and O., pp. 46, V, p. 62.)

Khán not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khán, decided the question.¹

Humáí began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of *Maḥarram*, 954 H. (November 1, 1551) in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to these animals; but the Mughals attacked them, furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khán, Zarrín commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, they became quite wroth, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghán ranks into confusion. Humáí mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horse, in the very heart of the Mughal army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his saddle from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again, . . . he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to turn his retreat through the enemy's line. . . . At length . . . he was surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *bars* in the rear.

When Humáí was brought into the presence, Bairam Khán re-examined of commented the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of *Ghazi*, while Bairam Khán, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Humáí from his body.²

1. *Peñatta, History*, II, pp. 188-89.

2. This is Firdaus's account; Briggs, II, pp. 188-89. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Arnold Wright says, 'The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his undrawn body.'—*E. & O.*, pp. cit., V, 65-6. Smith accepts this version, and observes: 'Akbar, a boy of thirteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khán, who had a right to expect obedience; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more courageous than his officers. The official story, . . . seems to be the late invention of courtly historians. . . . At the time of the battle of Panipat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to

(4) Post-Battle of Panipat, 1526-30

The principal events that happened after the execution of Humāi may be enumerated here for the sake of clearness thus :—

- (i) The occupation of Delhi and Agra ;
- (ii) The capture of Mewāt, and the execution of Humāi's letter ;
- (iii) The acquisition of Ajmir ;
- (iv) The surrender of Gadhār ;
- (v) The annexation of Jaipur ;
- (vi) Affairs on Panjab and Mithā.

Alphonsus rightly points out, "The real renaissance of the House of Tīmūr may be dated from this period :—it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Bābur Khān, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."¹ At the end of this period we find the great Khān falling from his high estate, almost suddenly if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fickleness of human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Akbar was a three-fold one : (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown ; (2) to establish his authority over his chiefs ; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course of so many revolutions.

"In the first years of Akbar's reign, his territory was confined to the Panjāb and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year he acquired Ajmir without a battle : early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gadhār ; and, not long before Bābur's fall he had driven the Afghāns out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaipur."²

The Muslim historians follow a nearly chronological order, without using discretion even as regards the relative importance of events.

amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his master's unkindness."—Akbar, p. 39. Khwānd alir Khān, who was Akbar's Chief Historian, however, definitely says, "Bābur Khān-thān then put Humāi to death with his own hand."—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 353. For a fuller discussion, see "The death of Humāi", *J. R. A. S.* 1858, p. 322. Also "The Death of Humāi" by Schuman Key, in *Deccan M. Studies*, I, 1, Nov. 1902.

1. *History of India*, p. 498.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

We have therefore to call out the most significant facts from this jumble, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, the *Akbar-Nāma*, and the *Tārīkh-i Firishtā* :

'Next day (after the accession of Humāi) the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere,

1. Occupation of Delhi and Agra. went straight to Delhi. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to meet him with due honour

into the city. He remained there one month.¹ From here two important expeditions were led : (a) against Mewār, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Humāi, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewār' : (b) against Shāhīr Aghā (Shir), whose reduction has already been described above. The first was led by Pīr Muhammad Sarāhī. 'He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the valuations, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.'² The *Akbar-Nāma* gives other details, and says that Humāi's father was given the choice between conversion and death ; when the old man refused to apostatise, 'Pīr Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'³ Mewār was conquered as a gift upon Pīr Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Bābir Khān.⁴ On their way back from Ahar or Mewār, 'Rājā Khān took possession of Ajmer and Nagr and all those parts ... Muhammad Kāim Khān was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmer.'⁵

The expedition against Shāhīr, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariyam Makhai and other royal ladies returned from Kābul, 'the Emperor left Bābir Khān in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart feeling great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1558, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhi. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his counsils. The Khān-i-Khāna, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *shād-khāna*, and transact business

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 385.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 32.

3. *Sulṭān Akbar*, p. 28.

4. E. & D., loc. cit., pp. 21-22.

under the direction and commands of His Majesty....After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked in a boat to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th. *Maharaja*, 366 H. (30th Oct., 1550), is the third year of the *Ilahi*. At the time Agra was a town of comparatively small importance.

"In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1552-60)

the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion

2. *Gwalior and Jaipur* in Hindustan was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwalior in Central India,

and the annexation of the Jaipur province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of *Ramandhor* in *Rajputana* failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of *Milwah* were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal fitness to rule, and the consequent fall of *Bairam Khan*, the *Prime Minister*."

"The fact of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rajās*. After the time of *Sultan Khān* (*Jalām Shāh*) the fort had been placed in the charge of *Sulaim*, one of his ghalibos, by *Sulaim Mahumūd Adil*. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, *Haibat Ali Saifi*, *Mahmūd Ali Kōh*, and *Khyā Khān* were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered." This brief notice of *Muzam-mad dīn* is supplemented with some more details by the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, which adds: "Akbar when he took up his residence at Agra, gave the person in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a gift to *Khyā Khān*. After a time the *Khān* collected an army and invested Gwalior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. *Sulaim* was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his imperial neighbour. (So he secretly sold the fort to *Rām Shāh* of the old ruling family of *Gwalior*.) *Khyā Khān*, the *ājizdār* attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. *Rām Shāh* was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the *Khal* of *Udaipur*." ¹ Gwalior was captured in the third year of

1. *Ibid.* V, pp. 256-57.

2. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

3. *E. & D.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 and 167-8.

Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559, Khān Jandān was sent to reduce Jaunpūr, the capital of the Gourids kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghāns. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country (and Berhām, as to Fāting-i Afā) to the Imperial dominions.¹

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sūr Shāh dynasty of Sūr Shāh. The end of Iskandar Shāh has already been referred to. Mahmūd Shāh Adālī, who had established himself at Chander and deposed Hādī to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*: "As for Adālī, at the time of Hādī's death he was at Chander, and at that juncture the son of Mahmūd Khān, by name Kāfir Khān, ruler of Berhām, who had assumed the name of Sūrah Bahādur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father; and Adālī proceeded into Bihār to meet him as far as Munglī.... The son had not yet then when Sūrah Bahādur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adālī, and wounded the little-prince of war. Adālī had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Shārigarh, about one day more or less from Munglī, and about 12 *kos* from Patnā, and there Adālī was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 958 B. (1552 A.D.), after a reign of eight years."²

"In this year (1550) Hādī Aī Khān was sent against the fort of Ratanabān. During the rule of Sūr Khān Afghān this fort was under the charge of Rāj Khān, one of his children, and this Rāj Khān had now sold the fort to Rāj Sūrjan, a relation of Rāj Udal Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the people under his rule, and had assumed the authority. Hādī Aī with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood; the *malik* then departed to their *dhān*."

"At this time, while the Court was at Agā, Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Jandān, marched to effect the conquest of Māhāl, which had formerly belonged to the Kōshī monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Dān Bahādur, son of Sūrah Khān

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 358-60.

2. His son, assuming the name of Sūr Shāh, made an ineffectual attempt to recover Jaunpūr from Khān Jandān, and, as the *Fārisī-i Akbarī* records: "The son of Adālī adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him."—*II.*, & D., IV., pp. 358-9.

Algha. He had reached the town of Siri, when the agitation arose about Bairam Khân, and under the orders of the Khân he returned.¹

(c) THE FALL OF BAIRAM KHÂN

Early in 1560, Akbar decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of Imperial affairs,' says Massignon *à la*, 'was under the direction of Bairam Khân; but there were various malcontent men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.'² The *Atthar-Milad*, on the other hand, states: 'Bairam's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by the flattery.' Abul Fazl also accuses him of conspiracy—'At length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all measure, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers.'³ Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Bairam Khân, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Khâim Mirâ, the son of the late Kâmil Mirâ, that Akbar became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'⁴

Misunderstanding once generated, led upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perceived in order to widen the breach. "The Persian historians narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khân's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith; but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered on his eighteenth year (A.D. 1563) and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. These natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another

1. *E. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 580.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

3. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 23-4.

4. *ibid.*, II, pp. 146-47.

had grievances against the Protector.¹ His appointment of Shakh Ghalil as *Sakh-i-Sader* excited the certain animosity of all the *Semls* at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khán showed himself favour to the adherents of his own *Shih* sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tard Beg,² and on several occasions Bairam Khán, presenting too much on his position, had behaved with much arrogance. He was accused, too, of making injudicious remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no pny power, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khán, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khán must yield.³ Matters soon reached a crisis.

"The advisers of Bairam Khán were divided in opinion. Shakh Ghalil, the *Sakh-i-Sader*, and certain other councillors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But Bairam Khán, after some hesitation, hesitantly refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meanwhile, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."⁴

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khán the following message, through his tutor Mir Abd-1 Latif:—

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the

1. The principal cause of all this intrigue at the Court was William Araps, who was Akbar's wife or came from his family. When he grew up, she was head of his house. According to Abu'l Far, she was the governing spirit and real minister for a time.—see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 361-66.

2. Tard Beg and Bairam Khán were old friends under Shashlyk; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairam.—Ephraïm, op. cit., p. 497 c.

3. Semls, op. cit., pp. 423.

4. Semls, p. 44.

pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable gift out of the purganes of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenue of which shall be transmitted to you by your agent."¹

Khalid-din narrates the sequel well: "When Mir Nohud Khan communicated this message to Khán-Kháná, he listened absently, and having parted from the Mir, he left Mecca for Nagor. . . . Upon reaching Nagor, he sent his banner, horse-drum and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Khán Beg. . . . The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility grieved the Emperor. . . ."

"Mir Muhammad Khán Sarakol, whom the Khán-Kháná had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,² had waited in Gujarat for the proper season for sailing. On hearing of the disgrace of the Khán-Kháná, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was favoured with the title *Nohud-i Mulk*, as well as with a banner and horse-drum. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khán-Kháná's departure for Mecca (so to use Nadim's phrase, 'to push him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay') and accordingly marched after him. . . ."

When Sultan Khán learnt that Mir Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, "he greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some colluded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khán-Kháná, and inciting him to criminal acts, he went towards the Panjab. . . . On the Emperor being informed of Khán-Kháná's advance, he departed. . . . a body of soldiers to the Panjab. . . . so that he was obliged to fight. . . . A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides, and Khán-Kháná being defeated, fled towards the Shikhar hills. . . . The Emperor then himself marched to the Panjab. . . . A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and annihilating the place, put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Husain Jahán was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khán-Kháná, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khán instantly sent one of his lieutenants, Ibrahim Khán, to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply regret my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

"When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khán-Kháná should be brought into his presence. When the

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 284.

2. For details of the circumstances under which Mir Muhammad was dismissed by Sultan Khán, see *ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

Khalidkhan approached the royal presence, all the nobles and slaves went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour....The Emperor received him with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places....Khalidkhan, with his people took the road to Gagrah....¹

Bairam Khan could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Pitha by an Afghan whose father had been killed at the battle of Manikpur. "Some scoundrels then plundered the equipment of the deceased," says Mirza-d din. Bairam Khan's body was picked up by some fakirs who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmedabad. His little son, Akbaruddin, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become Khan-i-Khanan and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

"The story of the transaction leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan," observes Smith, "leaves an unpleasant taste.... Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demonstration of his faithful character should be affected as gently as possible. But the enemy enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humor to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Mirzaun Anang was responsible, as her panegyrist, Abul Fazl asserts."²

(F) "The Fatal Famine" (1569-1574)

"Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan," says Smith, "only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his materially noble nature."³ Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the "evil" even to a considerable extent ;

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 364-65.

2. Smith, op. cit., pp. 47-8.

3. *Ibid.* p. 48.

but Scott's insinuation, is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's "essentially noble nature" asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in overthrowing a giant like Balaram Khān, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with "pettiest government of the worst kind."

We must turn then to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Balaram Khān (1608-1612). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

The position of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 22°30' and 24°30'; and

1. The Coast. long. 74°30' and 78°30') of Mithil was "such
quest of Mithil.

as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success." Shuja'at or Shajghat Khān, who practically ruled it independently under Akbar's Sā, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1605). "He was succeeded by his son Bāz Bahādur," says the *Faṭḥ-i Aḥ*, "and when the Afghans were scattered over Hindūstān by the conquering Chaghatāis, Bāz Bahādur established himself as permanent ruler of Mithil. When Bahādur Khān (Khān Zamīn's brother) marched against him, the affairs of Balaram Khān came to crisis, and the campaign in Mithil was stayed."

"Bāz Bahādur was," according to Mithawar alī "the most accomplished man of his day in the sciences of music and in Khatt song. He spent much of his time in the society of musicians and singers. It now came to Bāz Bahādur's knowledge that Bāz Bahādur had given himself up to sensuality, and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress." "The Emperor of the Imperial throne required" continues the *Faṭḥ-i Aḥ*, "that this country should be again brought under his control and that peace and security" (over the plan of aggressive imperialism?).

"So Akbar Khān (Mithawar Anag's son), Mir Muhammad Khān (Balaram Khān's enemy), and some other Afghans, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They actually marched thither, and when they came within ten kos of Shrawastī (now in the Dewar State, Central India Agency), Bāz Bahādur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a

position, which he fortified, two leagues from the city. . . . Adham Khān went forward an advance force to the entrenchments which Bāz Bahādur had thrown up around his army. Bāz Bahādur then threw off his armour, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight (1552) towards Khārdakh and Berhānapūr (Faid). Rūp-mat, his favourite wife, who used to write poetry,¹ several other wives and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Bāz Bahādur's wounded Rūp-mat with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khān summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

"Adham Khān wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sadr Khān, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Mīlāk in person. On the 21st Shā'ban, 958 H. (April 27, 1551) the Emperor left Agra, and marched towards Mīlāk. . . . Adham Khān now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,² who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Agra.³ At that place Mir Muhammed Khān Sarwāl and other nobles who had Agra in Mīlāk, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their jagirs."

Alber was not fully reconciled to Adham Khān. It was only

1. The career of Bāz Bahādur and Rūp-mat, "recounted throughout the world for her beauty and shame" are related in many a song and story.

2. Abul Fazl says that Adham Khān was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Mirām Anag to warn her son. He also describes how reluctant Adham Khān was to give up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Bāz Bahādur. (*Abul-Fāzila*, i, p. 178.)

3. Alber arrived in Agra on June 4, 1551, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Alber, who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season."—(Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 181.)

the intervention of the latter's mother, Mihyar Asaga, that had modified him for the time being. In November 1861, Sharraf-din Muhammad Khān Asga, who came from Kābil, was entrusted with the management, as minister, of all affairs political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khān was recalled from Mīlāt. Mihyar Asaga was opposed to Asga Khān's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find Adham lost slipping out of her control. But at the same time, it is strange that Mir Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khān in the charge of Mīlāt; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of ransoms in Mīlāt; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misappropriation and contentious spirit.

Mir Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khān, assembled the forces of Mīlāt and marched to subdue the countries of Aḥr and Barchānpūr. He laid siege to Bāghār, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ("He next proceeded against Barchānpūr, and annexed it to the Imperial territories"—*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 212). He then marched against Aḥr, a well-known place in Khilāṣh. Crossing the river Narbada, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Barchānpūr. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and nobles of the place he caused to be delighted in his presence. The governors of Aḥr and Barchānpūr, and Sira Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Mīlāt, now concerted together, and assisted by all the nobles of the country they assembled a force with which they assailed Mir Muhammad Khān (as his men were pursuing their struggling march homewards laden with spoil)—(*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 201). Unable to resist, Mir Muhammad fled towards Mīlāt, and when he came to the Narbada.... he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus receiving the retribution of his death,

1. "On the day of the victory," according to Badkhub, "the two captains remaining on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and three after three of them put to death, so that their blood flowed down upon rivers." Mir Muhammad craved better terms, and when remonstrance was offered, replied:—"In one single night all these natives have been taken, what can be done with them?"

says the *Fatah-i-Akbari* (Radford writes: 'By way of water he went to live and the signs of sickness, poor weather, and captive, settled his fate'—vol. II, p. 51). 'The other nobles, on reaching Mithā, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Mir Bahādur pursued them, and brought the whole of Mithā and river into his power. The noble who had abandoned Mithā and had come to Court without orders, was imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdulla Khān Uzbek now received orders to capture this disaster in Mithā, and several other Khāns were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1563 A.D.) Abdulla and his associates entered Mithā, and Mir Bahādur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight—to the hills of Ransahair' (144). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Mir Bahādur found protection for some time with Pīthi Chāh Singh, one of the chief Rājās of Mithā, and afterwards he resolved to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Radford, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release he died; according to Faint, he was granted a *mansab* of 2000.) Abdulla Khān remained at Mithā and the other nobles returned to their sight'.

In July 1564, Abdulla Khān showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to march against him in person. Abdulla Khān was soon driven to the confines of Gujarat, whence he made his escape to Jaipur and died there during the rebellion of Khān Zamān, in 1585. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the eve moon of 24 Rājā, 781 H., reached Mithā. The zamindārs of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mir Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khūdsāh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farman* was sent of Mir Mubārak Shāh directing him to send any one of his daughters who he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor.... When Mubārak Shāh received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, expressing it a great favour to be allowed to do so. In *Absharnameh*, 972 H. (August 1566), the Imperial camp moved from Mithā.... Karīl

Bahadur Khān was appointed governor of Mīlād.... Proceeding by way of Mīrāth and Gaudīā, the Emperor reached Agā on the 3rd Šafrī-i awal. In the course of this year, the Emperor had twice born to him, one of whom was named Hāsan, the other Hāshī; but they lived only a month.¹

We have noted how, after the death of Adāš, the eastern provinces of Jaupār were brought under the Empire, and Khān Zamān was appointed its governor.

2. Kōsh

Zamān's

Contemporary.

An attempt by Adāš's son to recover the provinces, we also saw, ended in failure. In July

1561, "various actions of Khān Zamān (Alī Šaḥ Khān) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaupār, on a progress of hunting and pleasure... When the Court reached Kārī, Alī Šaḥ Khān and all his brother Bahadur Khān came up by forced marches from their place at Jaupār, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognised, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their places. On the 17th Zi'l-Ĥijja, of the sixth year of the 1565, corresponding with 968 H., (August, 1561) the Court reached Agā.

"On the 8th Jamādī-i awal, 969 H., (January 1562) the

Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of

3. First

Major Marriage

and Alliance.

Karīm-i Adīb Khwāja Mahrūd alī Chāhī (at Ajmīr). When he reached the town of

Sambhar, Rājā Rāhīl Mā (Rachemba), one

of the chief Rājās of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagatī Dās, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an amiable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.² From there he

1. Bahādur al-Šaḥī Mā or Bahādur was the Rājā of Aḥīr (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahāngīr, and came to be known as Maryam-Rāhīl. This marriage, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that modern India produced." Rājā Mān Singh was Bahādur's grandson.

proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispersed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble City.

'Muzā Shamsa-d din Khawān, who held a high rank in the territory of Ajmer, came to pay his homage. He was
 a Captain of war with several other chiefs of that province Malwa.

to effect the conquest of the fort of Malwa, about 20 kos from Ajmir, which was held by Jai Mal, the commander of Rājā Māldeo. His Majesty then started for Ajrā, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty kos, in a day and a night. [The *Fāṭih-i Aḡ* gives the more probable time of three days.]...When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Daulā, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then called forth at the head of a party of Rājputs, and passed in front of the royal army...Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rājputs were slain...The fort of Malwa was then occupied by the Imperial force.'

The *Fāṭih-i Aḡ* gives the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1654), concerning the conquest of Garha in the Jubbulpore District :—

'Khawā Abdu-l Majid, who had received the title of *Asaf Khān*,' was appointed governor of Karāḥ, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindūstān since the rise of the Mughal in India. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rāj* (*Darghah*), and all the dogs (!) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. *Asaf Khān* had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the *Rāj*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Rāj*, came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Rāj*, who was in front of her horseman, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger

1. This was *Asaf Khān* I; later in the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography see Blochmann, *Ala*, I, pp. 265-66.

from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Asaf Khān gained the victory, and stopped the advance at the village of Chauragah, where the treasures of the rulers of Gadh were kept. The son of the Rājā shot himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Asaf Khān sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.⁷

Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fort of Chauragah is now in the Narasingpur District. When it fell into Asaf Khān's hands, its treasures consisted, besides those mentioned above, 'coined and uncoined gold, decorated vessels, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other curiosa.' "The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold ashrafi of Akbar-din Khān."⁸

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Shīr Shāhyar. Although the Rājā had now attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Rājā was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Malwa, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Rājā, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Akbar Paal remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Shīr Bahādur and the Mughla, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rājās of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble," observes Sarkis, "was more aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 128. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.

conquest and plunder."¹ Asaf Khān incarnated with success, in the manner of Adham Khān in Mīlāh, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Aibak, in this instance, for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and deferred the settlement of accounts.

We might close this period (1560-64) with an account of two incidents which throw some light upon Aibak's independent character, and assertion of independence. (1) Adham Khān and (2) Khwāja Malakam. Both spin excessively over the malign influence of the 'monstrous regiment of women' and the 'petticoat government' over the youthful Emperor.

'A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1562), writes Nizām-i dīn. "Adham Khān Kakaikarā, son of Mīlām Anag, could not endure to see the elevation of his country. In the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shāhīn-i dīn Ahmad Khān, Mīrām Khān Khān-i-Mahārā, and several other nobles, and murdered Khān-i-Jamā (Shams-i dīn Muhammad Anag), then Prime-Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Thus, traiting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the Azen. His Majesty rushed out of the Azen, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet for his crime.... All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment.... His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Mīlām Anag; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards."

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer remarks: 'Khwāja Malakam was maternal uncle of the Emperor.... This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humāyūn.... His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him.... After his banishment the Khwāja stayed for a while in Gujarat, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bahām Khān then courted him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the dis-

¹ Smith, op. cit., pp. 68-72.

grace of Salim Khân, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwâja, and gave him some *âghâ*. But the Khwâja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one: There was a woman named Fatima, attached to the harem of the late Emperor, and the Khwâja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zahir *âghâ*. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwâja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khân *Mir-i Farâghat* and Rustam Khân to give the Khwâja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwâja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and row him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gadhîr, where he died in confinement. Although imprisoned several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane. (*Akbar-Nâmâ*, II, p. 276).

What *Smith* observes with regard to the latter incident, is equally true of both. He says, "The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a paternal dikpan. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, but he did not give her to control his policy, which was exercised on principles altogether his own."

(g) REBELLIONS: EAST AND WEST

The principal rebellions of this period were two: That of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Akbar's half-brother, at Kâbul, and that of Khân Zarkân at Jaunpûr. They were interconnected in so far as

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8.

the one sympathized with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

The first attempt of Mirza Salimullah of Badkhashan on Kibal had already been decided. 'When Mirza Khir

The Kibal Re- (Mirza Muhammad Haidar's grandson) left Kibal to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khir

Adinbegi was left there as governor, but on Mirza Khir being informed of his dis-treatment of the people of Kibal, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghazi Khir, in his place. ... After a time, Malik Choudak Begum (Haidar's mother) and the people of Kibal were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghazi. ... Sometime afterwards Ghazi Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon-garden, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, in concert with Shah Wali Akia, ... to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghazi Khir. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghazi Khir exclaimed that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. ... When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Mirza Khir governor of Kibal and guardian (wazir) of the young Prince Mirza Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and taking the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of reaching by land at once, to Jallidabad, known in old times by the name of Jinal. There she awaited Mirza Khir, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and captured her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begum returned to Kibal. ...'

After some time, Abdul Mirali, who had originally escaped from Bayana and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mirza Shams-ud-din, the Jagirdar of Nagor and Ajala, rebelled and made towards Kibal. 'The Imperial force treated Ajala, ... and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels. ... When Abdul Mirali ... found that the royal army was closing up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kibal. When he approached Kibal, he wrote a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Empress, and sent it to Malik Choudak Begum (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abdul Mirali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Haidar.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they received from Malik Choudak Begum, presented him that custom would never go on well as long as the Begum lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he put into her hands the Prince Muhammad Haidar, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. Mirza Muhammad Haidar sent a person to Mirza Salimullah, telling upon him for assistance. ... The

Mirza, hearing of the state of affairs... marched against Kābul. Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. . . . Three days later, he sent Abul Mirza, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Haidar, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 13th Rabi-ul, 120 H. (April 1864).

'Mirza Sahibzāde now sent to Badakhshan for his daughter, and married her to Muhammad Haidar. After giving alms to the Kābul century to many of his followers, and appointing Usaid Ali, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshan.

'Mirza Muhammad Haidar and his people, being greatly annoyed by their Badakhshan, drove them out of Kābul. Mirza Sahibzāde then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. . . . Haidar fled to Peshawar, and appealed for Akbar's help. . . . when the statement of Mirza Muhammad Haidar reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and dignitaries of the Panjāb. . . . to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Haidar. . . . Mirza Sahibzāde on the approach of the royal forces fled to Badakhshan. . . .

Mirza Sahibzāde, for a fourth time invaded Kābul. Mirza Haidar once more sought refuge in Bāgh, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor then appointed Faridun Khān, maternal uncle of the Mirza and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. 'He now sent Khush-Khush Khān, son of the royal family, with money, goods of household, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza; and he wrote a letter, in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the army of the Panjāb to support him.

When Khush-Khush Khān approached the camp, the Mirza harboured out with due courtesy and respect to receive the Jemadar. After the arrival of Khush-Khush Khān, Faridun intended to instigate the Mirza to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to seize Khush-Khush Khān. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish pretensions, he was too honorable to consent to the suggestion of Khush-Khush Khān; so he invited the Khān to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sattar Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hassan Khān, brother of Shihab-ud din Ahmad Khān, who was in Kābul, helped to excite the hostile spirit and aided their voices to Faridun's.

'Worn over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Panjāb. . . hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirza's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza advanced to the base of the fortifications; but the army of the Panjāb repulsed him with the loss of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of

the advances of the royal forces, the rebels, feeling unable to offer any more, took to flight.

We have already mentioned the enthusiastic conduct of this nobleman and his brother, Bahadur Khán, and their submission at the Emperor's approach. In August 1582,

Khán Zand's
Rebellion.

They again rebelled only in 1598. In May, Akbar

was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed

the Jamnā. In December, 1583, Khán Zand gave an undertaking not to cross the Ganges, and Akbar came back to Agra in March 1584. Meanwhile Mirza Muhammad Salim invaded the Punjab, under the circumstances described above. "He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindustan, and Khán Zand went so far as to make the Muslīm, or prayer for the King, in his name."¹ Akbar set forth against his brother in November 1583; but when he learnt of his defeat and flight, he returned to Lahore where he heard of the rebellion of the Mirza (February 1587). The Mirza, having first broken out at Samrat, near Multān, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Delhi. In May 1587, Akbar had once more to march against Khán Zand, who had broken his pledged word to suppress him finally. The details of these events are thus set forth by Naẓm-ud-dīn in the *Faharīn Akbarī*:

"In consequence of the severe proceedings against *Abdullāh Khān* (Sring, which have been narrated above [*i.e.*, his expulsion from Multān on account of his rebellious attitude], an epidemic got spread that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbegs." The disaffected nobles, among whom was *Bahādur Khān* the uncle of Khán Zand, "resolved to consult *All Kāsh Khān* (Khán Zand), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country.... After consultation... they determined to rebel.... *Bahādur Khān* and *Sikandar Khān* went to Lodhnow, full of hostile designs. Khán Zand and his brother went to Karni Mīrātpur, and there began their revolt.

"*Asad Khān* and *Majlūn Khān* (who was the *ājmalī* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to confront the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the nobles reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered *Mirza Khān Khvārdādān* to march in advance with a strong force, and cross over the river at Karnal, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwāl he crossed over the Jamnā, and marched to chastise the rebels.... On Friday, the 12th Jād Mīn, the royal forces crossed the Ghadd of Jaupān. Orders were given to *Asad Khān* and other nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Nārān, where *All Kāsh Khān* and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances....

¹ *Shahīd*, op. cit., p. 77.

"Between Khin-Minkha (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Khin Zanin there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khin Zanin should wait upon Khin-Minkha to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lasted on for four or five months, and warlike operations were suspended..... After a long discussion it was determined that Khin Zanin should send his mother, Ali Khin, and Beshin Khin his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offence. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khin and his brother and Sister Khin were to go to Court..... Beshin Khin, with uncovered head, and with a sword and shield upon his back, stepped forward, and Khin-Minkha extended forgiveness..... and he treated that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of forbearance upon the heads of such mortal sinners.....The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khin-Minkha, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful.".....

The Emperor then went to visit the fort at Chankai, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jampuir to Beshin, and there stayed several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened.....(Aliin, who had agreed to restore the rights of the most-obedient nobles, stipulated: "So long as I remain in this neighborhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must stand their watch there, and forward for their rights shall then be issued, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chankai, Khin Zanin crossed the river, and went to Mohan-mahand, one of the dependencies of Jampuir, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghalipair and Jampuir. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this and proceeding of Ali Kall Khin's, and he said reproachfully to Khin-Minkha, "No sooner than I left this place than Ali Kall Khin broke the conditions of his parole." Khin-Minkha looked mortified, and endeavored to make amends.

Orders were given to Abdul Khin, Isha Bahadur to go to Jampuir, and make prisoner the mother of Ali Kall Khin, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jampuir. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of....The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against Ali Kall Khin....The force under the Emperor occupied the bank of the river Sarwan (Sarni), and after searching all the jungles they found that Khin Zanin had gone off to the Shakh Mha. News was received that Bahadur Khin had gone to Jampuir, and threatened his mother. He made Abdul Khin prisoner, and forced the design of making an attack upon the royal camp. Upon learning this the Emperor gave up the chase of Khin Zanin, and turned towards Jampuir.where he ordered a pleasure site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built; and the nobles also were to build suitable houses and places suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as Ali

Kaff Khān and his brother should remain in this world, Jaunpur should be the capital of the State. The royal income was sent in pursuīt of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

'When all Kaff heard of this he left the Simlā hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Cawā with a message. Kāfir-khān . . . with swift made intercession for Khān Zamān; and the Emperor in his great kindness, soon more pardoned his offences. . . . Then as required, he expressed concern for his health, took an oath of fealty, and bade his vassals farewell. The Emperor's approbation having reported of their neighbours' death, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 12th year of the reign, 993 H. (25th March, 1584).

'The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of all Kaff Khān and other rebels, Mughl Khān

And Khān's
Swordsmen.

Khān, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 5,000 or 4,000 men to Cawā to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Aul Khān.

(During the campaigns against Khān Zamān, he had suddenly absconded, being afraid lest he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth from Chauragāh.) Before Mughl Khān Khān arrived, Aul Khān quitted the fort of Chauragāh, and went off into the jungle. He wrote a letter full of humility and supplication, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on pilgrimages. Mughl Khān Khān on arriving in Cawā, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Aul Khān, who then wrote letters to Khān Zamān, proposing to go and join him. Khān Zamān wrote in reply, advising him to come to him. Aul Khān, deceived by this, went to Jaunpur; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrayance of Khān Zamān, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some affronts he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lāhor in pursuit of Mughl Muhammad Khān, and received pardon for his offences.)

'During the stay at Lāhor Talco, a letter arrived from Aul, from

Branch of the
Mughl.

Mughl Khān-khān, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mughl and Ulagh Mughl,

by name Ibrahim Husain Mughl, Muhammad Husain Mughl, and Sāli Mughl, who held *ijlas* in the name of Saadāt,¹ had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khān-khān, had marched to

1. These Mughls were Akbar's distant cousins, whose forefathers had received favour at the hands of both Hūyā and Humāyūn. To every one of them Akbar gave suitable *ijlas*, and advanced them to the dignity of *maliks*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpur campaign, they applied to their *ijlas*, and remained in Saadāt. But when His Majesty went to Lāhor, to repress the attempt of Mughl Muhammad Husain, they broke out in rebellion.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 218-26.)

for as Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Bikanér.

A command was given that Asaf Khán, along with Muhi-ud Khán (who had once previously visited Kásh. Baulá),

Khán, Zaudd's should go to Káshimírshah, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories. Intelligence now

arrived that Asaf Khán Khán, Bahádur Khán and Khánder Khán had again broken their engagements and risen in rebellion (and created the trouble to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Haidar—After Akbar, I. 299). Whereupon the Emperor placed their sister Mirza Mirza Razvi in custody of Khán Asaf Khán, and having the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mirza Muhammad Khán and all the Akas, on the 12th Rasseah, 954 H., (22d March, 1547), he started on his return to Agra.

Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khán Farán was besieging the fort of Shargah, near his distant town Kásh. Nineteen days afterwards, the emperor left Káshimírshah in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 22d Shawwal, 954 H. marched towards Jampur. When he reached the fortress of Sahot. Asaf Khán decamped to his brother, who was in Mírshah. when he reached the fortress of Bahádur, he learned that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Bikanér (After/Akbar says Gaudhar). He then directed his camp to proceed to the fort of Kásh. and then marched with all possible speed to the city of Bikanér. (There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—After/Akbar, I. p. 295). There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,200 men swam the river along with him. Asaf Khán and Mirza Khán, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that Asaf Khán had occupied themselves all that night in celebrating and courtesans, and was heedless of everything else. The warlike demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Mirza Khán, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

On Sunday, the 1st Zul Áhja, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khán and all the Akas were on right; Muhi-ud Khán and other sons were on the left. The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their lines, and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor. As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Bahádur) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the line of Asaf Khán. There was among them an elephant named Shikandar, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Deyan; but Shikandar gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Asaf Khán received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow

crush his horse. The animal became rather, and All Kuli Khan also was thrown. An elephant named Nanking soon came up, and was about to crush him when All Kuli Khan cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nang Bahadur placed Bahadur Khan behind him as a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the eunuch he was put to death. After a little while, the head of All Kuli (Khan Saadat) was also brought. The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of Bhakrawal, one of the dependencies of Jaisi Pauran, now known as Bhikhal, on the 24th Raja, 974 H.

"He then proceeded to Benares. Every follower of All Kuli Khan who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpur, and remained three days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the Kashi hillsides between he rested there and sent word to Muslim Khan. The Khan-Khalifa, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and Government of the pargana of All Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chander and Zamindari, as far as the ferry of Chausa. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the month of the rainy season in 24th Raja, 974 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Akbariana, 975, arrived at Agra."

THE CONQUEST OF RAIPUTANA

"In September 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chittor, which deserves narrative in exceptional detail," observes Smith.¹ The causes for the undertaking are variously stated; the Rani had given shelter to Raja Bahadur after his flight from Mithan; he had assisted the rebellious Mirza; he had not come forward, like the ruler of Amber (Bhair Mal), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as Ishwari Prasad points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the Rajputs, no social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation...The conquest of Mithan was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of the whole of Hindustan."² "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed

1. *Akbar*, p. 21.

2. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 368, 369-8.

ad master of all Northern India, could not break the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong walls and turned every the head of obedience from the sublime court.'¹ Jahar had already come into the Imperial net; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Ranthambhor, Kalidjar, Jashpur, Râidâr, and Jodhpur.

It is well to recollect here also that Râid Sanga, then in the field of battle, had died about the same time as his conqueror Babur, in 1550; that his successor in vain had called upon Humâyn for aid when Chitor was being attacked by Balâdar Shâh of Gujârât, in 1554; and that proud and haughty Chitor had lain prostrate and impotent before the adventurous Afghân, Sher Shâh, in 1568. "It was the ill fate of Mîrât to be crowned with a crown prince (Udai Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever reigned her sceptre. 'Udai Singh,' Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtues, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all.' The historian of the Râjputs justly exclaims that 'well had it been for Mîrât had the position fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of the princes.'"

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of All Kôli Khat and other matters

1. The *Shah-nâmâ* writes: "Muhammad dîn, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor.' On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mîrât, who had fled from Samthal and taken refuge in those parts. 'He therefore appointed Muhammad dîn Ahmad Khân and other emirs to fight in Mîrât, and charged them with that duty. When the emirs reached Udaipur, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mîrât, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujârât... So the emirs obtained possession of Mîrât without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Cawer, Râid Udai Singh left 7,000 or 8,000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mâl, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mîrât Shâhid dîn Humâyn, in the hot of Mîrât's, as before related. The Râid Mâl, with all his relatives and dependents, took refuge in the hills and jungles, —and soon built for himself a new capital at Udaipur.

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

"The fort of Chilar is seated on a hill, which is about one *li* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *li*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was partitioned out among the different units. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Lord Kila was sent to Kimpér (about 50 miles westward of Chilar), a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Hsiao K'ui K'ing was sent with a detachment towards Utsipér and Kombéimé (34 miles south-west of Utsipér), which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the King. He ravaged several towns and villages but finding no trace of the King, he returned to the Imperial camp.

"When the siege of Chilar had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *saletá*¹ and the digging of mines. About 2000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were collected, and began their work of constructing *saletá* on two sides of the fort. While the *saletá* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time the *saletá* was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also started their mines to the face of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gun-powder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Flurried and low who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *man* were carried to a distance of three or four *li* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been hurled were found. Several *darildán* etc. and a great number of the Emperor's standards were slain, and nearly 500

1. "A *saletá* is a kind of wall which is begun at regular-day distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*hacha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *saletá* which was constructed from the royal battery (*survato-lá-lá-lá-lá-lá*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-ridge with his spear in his hand could pass under it."—H. B. D., op. cit., V, p. 128.

pained soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

After this disaster, the pride and soliloquies of the Emperor became still more intense upon the reduction of the fortress. A order which had been laid down in the history of Shajahan Khán was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 23th Shaban, 976, the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mál, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the wall, and he had a mallet in his hand. The face of Jai Mál was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died on the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each was hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place and burnt them.¹ This proceeding in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *jashan*. The royal forces were now routed, and they scattered the branches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to saluted them, and fought more valiantly. His Majesty, seated in the wall, beheld the courages of his men with an approving eye. Adil Muhammad Khanzáda, and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All this night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was retaken. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. As order for a general massacre was heard, and more than 8000 Rájputs who were in the place received the reward of their death. After this the daughter was seized, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Raul Khán was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital on

1. Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of Jai Mál was the fall of Patta, a lad of 15 summers; but he was married, and "had many soft comparisons vying for our hearts than herself might dim the hero of Kásha." His mother armed the young boldie with a lance, with her dismounted the wall, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds the Rájputs became restless of life. Patta fell fighting, being crushed to death by an elephant. At the time Akbar was here "there was a breach of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died." Akbar nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic workings by erecting in his palace-garden fine statues in honour of Jai Mál and Patta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to keep the wounds of the Rájput heart," says Smith, "was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jai Mál and Patta, the defenders of Chitor."

—Akbar, pp. 93-4.

Tuesday, the 15th Sh'wan.)

"When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of China, he vowed that if he was successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khrish, southeast of Algor, which is at Algor. In performance of this vow, he set off for Algor, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Rameen, he reached Algor. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the year and month glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached Algor in March, 1588.)

"After a stay of some months at Algor, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantamishor,¹ renowned as one of

2. Rantamishor, the strongest and highest fortress of Hindustan.

An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of China.... When the order had reached several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mirids, who had escaped from Gajala, and laid siege to the fort of Ujala, in Mirid. The Emperor then directed that Kall Khar, with the army and the army that had been sent to Rantamishor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirids.

The two armies united according to the order.... The army had now grown very large. When the Mirids were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujala, and went off towards Mirid.... All marched together in pursuit of the Mirids, who fled before them from Mirid to the banks of the Marash. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned.... The Mirids then fled to Gajala.... The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place....

"The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (12nd Feb. 1590) towards Rantamishor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, works constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Miri Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and residence and he sent out his two sons, Daul and Shol by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Miran Kall Khar, who had received

1. "A curious incident in this siege was this: A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stuff usually worn by archers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm."—*Mulla-d din Ahmad, Fatah-ul Akbar*, (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 122).

2. Gen. Sherwasthagere is now in the SW corner of the Jaipur State, a few miles from the British border, and about 140 miles N.E. from Algor.

the title of Khán-Jahán into the fort to give assurance to Khán Burján. He did so and brought the Khán to wait upon the Emperor when he made a final submission, and was rewarded among the royal servants.¹

¹ This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultáns had been ambitious of taking it. Shér Khán Aghá (Shér Sháh) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the inter-regnum of the Agháns,

3. Kábilgar.

Rajá Khán Chander had purchased the fort at a high price from Rajá Khán. . . . The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Ranthambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held signs in the neighbourhood of Kábilgar were constantly looking plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Rajá Khán Chander was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and valuable offerings, with congratulations for the vicissitudes achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Máláik Khán, one of the lightest of the quarter, and a friendly armada was sent to Rajá Khán Chander. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Réah, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.²

1. According to other accounts, Rajá Bhagvindhra of Amber and Mán Singh used their influence to 'make Burján Hám (Ghazan) faithful to his pledge'—'to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor'. . . . The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of 32 districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without scrutiny, on furnishing the necessary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King' (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.)

2. Also: 'Pául's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner:—'When the report of the capture of Chitor and Ranthambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty court, every one whose eyes had been in a measure blinded by the collision of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the ground of submission. Rajá Chander, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy message at the capital and acted for quarter. He made over the fort to the Imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. The wisdom and knowledge were approved of, and his agents were received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Máláik Khán Kábilgar. By this fidelity of the Ghilzistáns's letters, such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (Akbar-Námá, ii, p. 489.)

"When the Sempur was staying at Nagpur, Chander Sen, son of Rāj Mahār, came to pay his allegiance and make his

4. *Jodhpur and offerings.* Rāj Kalyān Māl, the Rājā of Bāhār, Bāhār.

...also came with his son, Rāj Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his efforts. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being recognised, the Sempur married Kalyān Māl's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagpur. From thence he proceeded to Ajodha, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shāhī Farīd-ud-dīn Maṭī Gāzī Shāhān. Rāj Kalyān Māl, who was so fit that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bāhār; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion."

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rāj-potāns. A still more arduous war continued to be waged against the intrepid Rājā Prithvī, who had "the courage never to submit or yield." For

there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1599 to July 1606, before the "sword of Islam" again struck the Rājās with his own hand. Meantime it is worthwhile taking note of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whichever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had stormed and taken Malharā, "the second city in Māwār"; Rājā Bhārwal of Amber had "anticipating the King, mutilated himself and his son Bhagwānādā amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife and held his country as a fief of the Empire;" Moss had been achieved since. The proud Rājā had been driven to seek refuge in the hills; Chitor had been taken so also Bantamhār and Kāllīgar, Jodhpūr and Bāhār too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterises these events with the following observation:—

"Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Mogals, the first successful conqueror of Rājput independence; to this his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulus to action, he was enabled to guide the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne carried its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even to ministering to more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial race were cut off by his sword, and hence rolled away as his conquests were sufficiently confirmed.... He was long ruled with Shambhū, Allādā, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; like these he constructed a *Musaka* (palace) for the *Kirān* from, the

others of Killage; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from others that most of grains, which no other of his race ever obtained."¹

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Rajputs: (1) those like Anber that easily submitted, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honorable settlement with the conqueror, like Ramchandor; and (3) those that refused to be assimilated, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent fight, like the Rājās of Mewar. The first two by their submission, showed a spirit of compromise and accommodation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was bending the whole might of his genius; the last, by its eternal hatred, unconquerable pride, and courage never to submit or yield, contributed its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Rājās is noteworthy for its dignified straightforwardness:—

The *Amul* of Bānārī record:—² A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Anber (Jaipūr), which presents a good picture of Hindū feeling. They were (1) that the chiefs of Bānārī should be exempt from that custom, degrading to a Rājput, of sending a dote (bride) to the royal harem; (2) exemption from the jizya or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Bānārī should not be compelled to cross the *Attack*; (4) that the vassals of Bānārī should be exempt from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mīna bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Nauroz (New Year's Day); (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Darwāzā*, or "Hall of Audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred offices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindū leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dhūl* (a flower branded on the forehead); (9) that they should be allowed to bear their *sothras*, or battle-dresses, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lāl Darwāzā or Red Gate; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sajda*) on entering the presence; and (11) that Bānārī should be to the Rājās what Delhi was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.³

¹ Tac. *Alamgirī*, I, p. 138.

² *Cont. by Smith*, op. cit., p. 66.

But, as noted above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, viz., the destruction of Chitor which was "sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rajput soul. The place became sacred, and to this day no successor of Uday Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rajput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brahmanical souls' (*pieces of brass*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ *manas* of about eight pounds each. [To preserve the memory of this disaster the number 74½ are still or were, marked on the banker's letter in Piljandhla it is the strongest of souls, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby involved on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number."] The watch of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra. The wallows, or huge battle-drum, eight or ten feet in diameter, the superabundances of which had been wont to proclaim "for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes," as well as the massive mandibles from the shrine of the "Great Mother," who had girt Durgah Miskin with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away.The nearest Rishi Uday Singh (who had fled to the Aravallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaipur) died at Gogfandh in the Aravalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rishi Pradip Singh (about whom later), waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mewar. But Chitor remained desolate."

(i) Gogfandh or Gogandh

The rich province of Gogandh had been won, and lost by Humayun, and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 902. Read "Chitor and its Sieges", by R. R. Mohan in *Indian Antiquary*, August 1880.

conquest. "The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarat the richest kingdom in India. Ahmedabad, the capital, was justly reported to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of silk, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities." The confusion into which Gujarat fell soon after the death of Bahadur Shah has already been hinted at. 'In the Court of the Emperor,' write Mirans-i-din, 'conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppression and wildness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities.' Now that Ha Mihsay's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of his lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat.¹

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July, 1573, and 'proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmer.' He also visited the tombs of some of the saints, 'and gladdened the hearts of the shahis and attendants with his manifold gifts.' Then he sent Mirza Muhammad Khan with, "better known by the title of Khair-i-Khan," with 15,000 horse in advance. The Emperor himself marched via Nagpur, Mithank, and Sirsi, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Indrapur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that none of the Raths might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Kili Singh Khilji, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Forbes* were (also) written in the name and signature of that province, desiring them to render Kili Singh every assistance he might require. . .

'The Emperor... arrived in Pilna, and rested there for a week.

1. *Ahmedabad*. The government of the country was confided upon Saifid Ahmad Khān Bakhā, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saivids of Hindustān. At this time Kili Khān Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnants of the Afghāns. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmedabad. Near Khān Patali had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmedabad, which was held by Shāhid Khān ('The slave and prime minister of Sultan Muhammad Gujarat').

1. "The country was at that time without a settled government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Itwasaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the intervention of a power capable of enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local principalities named Hindol, Khān to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 110.)

when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pithan, when Sultān Muḥammad, son of Sūltān Mahmūd Gajardī, whom Hīndū Khān had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor The next day, Hīndū Khān, the ruler of Ahmadābād,.... and other nobles and chiefs of Gujardī, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. Hīndū Khān presented the keys of Ahmadābād, and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the Mughals (Afgānians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and mildly towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then advanced on, and on Friday, 14th Shab, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadābād (Sahayād). The Mughals were read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and various came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.

¹ Sultān Muḥammad Mīrā and Muḥammad Hussain Mīrā held Bhadr,

Barock, and Surat in defiance of the Emperor. So

2. Canday. he resolved to free the country of Gujardī from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Shā'ban, he started from the river of Ahmadābād, and marched towards Canday. Hīndū Khān and other Gujardī nobles were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadābād for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Durrūd Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujardī, fled from Ahmadābād to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujardī, Hīndū Khān was given leave the custody of Shāhīn Khān Kumbh. On the 8th the Emperor reached Canday. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Canday on the 11th, he reached Bhadr on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujardī, he appointed Mīrā Aḥmad Muḥammad Kōkabrūk, the Khānī-i-Sar, to be the governor of the country, and specially of its capital Ahmadābād.² Here it is necessary to note that while at Canday, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and thus made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was brought with great magnificence in the history.

² After the departure of Aḥmad Khān, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat which was the base

3. Battle of Surat. of and stronghold of the Mughals. To effect this purpose

he sent Saḥūd Mahmūd Khān Barha, Khān Shāykhī-i-Ilā, Kōtwar Mīrā Shāh, and several others to overpower Hussain Mīrā, who was in Surat. Next day, 11th Shā'ban, when war broke at the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Sultān Khān Mīrā, having heard of the Emperor's advance had marched Hussain Khān Khānī-i-Sar who was desirous of returning to his allegiance—Akbar-Nāma), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight kos dis-

came from the Emperor's camp, and to raise detachments and relieve others.

'Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled....The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahāndī. Another Hindu chief was in the town of Samal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this the Emperor's followers endeavored to conceal themselves....Kuswar Mān Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over....Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Ekānt, son of Rājā, Pihl Mā, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a disordered spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Rājā Bhagat Dās had kept with him. Those of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Rājā. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Rājā Bhagat Dās hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assailed His Majesty, who repulsed them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

'The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Another Hindu chief was discomfited and took to flight....The Emperor went into the town of Samal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in gifts....On Wednesday, the 16th October....the Emperor rejoined his camp at Nayān. Next day he ordered a banner and a kettledrum on Rājā Bhagat Dās, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

'The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a

4. Surat.

slave of Sultan Mahmūd Ghaznā, who received the title of Khudward Khān, built this fortress on the sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tāpi, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 1267 A.D., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, but before the fort was built the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musalmāns. When Khudward was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times sent out ships to attack it but could not succeed in their object....On the two sides of the fort which faces the land, he formed double ramparts reaching to the water, which were 20 yards wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, slates, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards....It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with chains of iron, having nails, lead poured into the interstices.

The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a choudhalla which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of this fortress by layers of brick, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudivand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their applications and raised the structure.

'When the Emperor returned from Samat to Harid, he renewed his design of conquering Samat. . . . The Emperor sent BHA Todor Mai to examine and ascertain precisely the idols and soldiers of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Harid. . . . and encamped at a distance of a day from Samat on the High Road. On the same night he was up and recommenced the task. He distributed the batteries among the units, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

'The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drinking water was closed. After it had gone on for two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed. . . . Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were ordered to the quarter stones and drums. The watched dillawal Ham-nibin and all the people in the fort went out blindfold Ham-nibin bin Lili, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter. . . . His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition. . . . Lili returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been recorded. A royal order was then issued for Khisa Ali Khisa. . . . to proceed into the fortress with the Mirlikas, to give succours to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy daks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live-stock and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-nibin and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 13rd Farvard, in the year 980 H. (the siege having lasted one month and seventeen days). . . . 26th Feb., 1573.

'While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Samat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim

3. PHAN.

Ibrahim Mirli to Khudivand, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Samat, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of PHAN, where he joined Muhammad Hamid Mirli and SHAH Mirli and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Samat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrahim should go into Khudivand's and create disturbances, while the other two Mirlikas held siege to PHAN :

their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Sert, and fall back upon Ahmadabad, to oppose these two outsiders.

'They invested Pisan. Sayid Ahmad Khati Barha (the prisoner) put the lot in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders... to repulse this rebellious attempt. The nobles accordingly joined Asan Khati and marched to Pisan... The rebels fell upon the advance and defeated it... When Asan Khati saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Hashim, he resolved to make a bold attempt to revive matters, and to dash into the fight... When the enemy's most-disposed in search of plunder, and those remained but a few in arms, Asan Khati... forced his way and fell upon the enemy's rear. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side... Muhammad Husin Mirak fled to the Dakhin. This victory was won on the 18th Fardin, 980.'

In March, 1573, the Emperor arrived at Ahmadabad and there he entrusted the government of Gujarat to Khati Asan (Ghatani Khati). On the 10th Jyeshtha, the Ashvini, he recommenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muzaffar Khati (the King of Gujarat) received the Imperial levies: 'The nobles of Sindhgor and Ujain in Mithal were taken from the Khati and granted to him, with fifty loads of treasure in Mith... At one stage near Ajmir, the Emperor received the communication from Bahi Khati, the governor of Multan, to inform him of the death of Ibrahim Husin Mirak..... On the 12th Muharram 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Muzaf-ur-Chauk, and observed the usual customs, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances.

'When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands

of his servants, and each of his troops as he had not Gujarat.

He served in the campaigns were sent to strengthen Asan Khati. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outsiders came in from afar then; and Asan Khati himself wrote for reinforcements.

'The rebels, having assembled round Shikhpur, got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad Husin Mirak left the Dakhin with the intention of attempting the recovery of Sert. Khati Khati, who was garrison of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; as Husin Mirak gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Cawdry. (On his way he got possession of Beroch.) Hasan Khati Khatani, the Shikhpur, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadabad. At length the Mirak was worried, and fled to join Shikhpur-Mith. Asan Khati, who had marched against Shikhpur-Mith, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him,

and fighting went on for several days between Akbarnagar and Ikar with no decisive result.....

"*Ikhtiyār-i Mulk*, Muhammad Husain Mirānī, and the other leaders, got together a force of 20,000 men—Maghals, Rajpoots, Haidaris, Afghans, and Rajpoots—around Akbarābād. The Rājā of Ikar also kept up a connection with them.....Mirānī began daily vent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gwalior, to clear the country of the rebels, and to spend their families..... In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Jadhī 1011 AH, the Emperor with his consanguines and attendants proceeded with the *arāḥ* and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Todā (about 70 miles W. by S. from Agra) without drawing aids. There he ate what he could get, and rode on.... On Tuesday, he reached the town of Chitāl at Ameer (140 *kāḥ* = 228 miles)—Tharāṭ, where he went through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor.....

"Although the horsemen under his colours were only 2000 in number, and the army had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Etāhāl towards Akbarābād. A messenger was sent to inform Khānāḥ of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 2nd Jomādā awwal, he reached Ikar, a town 20 *kāḥ* from Akbarābād. The *arāḥ* now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort..... And Khānāḥ was sent to Khānāḥ Begam to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. Then, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Pathār to the suburbs of Akbarābād, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe."

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was necessary to fall upon

an enemy unwarned, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpet was heard, the enemy, unarmed and unarmed, rushed to their horses.....The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the horse came up and took them in the flank..... Muhammad Husain Mirānī and Khānāḥ Mirānī struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled.... Muhammad Husain Mirānī had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a run, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, threw Husain from his horse and made him prisoner.... Victory came declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his camp, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he

offered up his thanks for the victory rendered. (Sept. 2, 1575).

¹ Gads Ali Bahadur and a servant of the Khán-i Kalán now brought in the executed *Muhammad Husain Mirza* a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Bádr Sháh¹ asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Saguntade to His Majesty"; and he spoke the truth.² Both *Husain Mirza* and *Shahpír-i Bádr* were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyramidal should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and there were more than 2,000 in number. After this he proceeded into *Akmedabad*, and accepted the royal shrub which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations....His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. *Shogun* *sofian* was employed to write dispatches of the victory, and the heads of *Muhammad Husain Mirza* and *Sahibzad Mirza* were sent to be hung up over the gates of *Agra* and *Patalpér*.

This sharp action broke the back of the rebels in *Gujarát*.

Having accomplished this, he appointed *Kutub*

1. Foul attack on *Muhammad Khán* and *Manning Khán* to work of *1548*.

Borak and *Changshir*, to assist the power of

Shah Mirza yet remaining to be subdued. Bádr Sháh's *Din*, *Shah Kuli Mirza*, and several others were sent to *Idar*, to ravage the country which *Bádr Uddin Singha* had abandoned. The government of *Pitaw* was again awarded to *Khán-i Kalán*. *Khwája Gháfi* *din Ali Bahá*, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of *Kutub Khán* (12), and he was appointed *shah* and *baik* of *Gujarát*. So he remained behind with *Khán-i Kalán*, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left *Akmedabad* on Sunday, 16th *Jawad-i amad*: "he was back in *Patalpér-Sírf* within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, *Alán's* second *Gujarát* expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record. The victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into

1. His original name was *Badr* *Din*, and he was, according to *Badr*, "a hero who was distinguished above all his contemporaries for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent *Hind* verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of *Kutub Khán*, chief of poets."...Later, "the Emperor, having given to *Kutub Khán* the title of *Bádr Sháh*, bestowed upon him the country of *Nagpur*."—*ib.* & *ib.*, op. cit., V, p. 226.

his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573.¹

'The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily,' says Nicolson-die, 'so the Rājā (Tadar Māl) was sent to accept and settle the arrears, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.' This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, 'effected the reimbursement of the greater part of the loans in the short space of six months. The province, as regarded, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Rājā Tadar Māl was continued by another revenue expert, Shāhib-d die Ahmad Khān, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He reorganised the *sarkars* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarat remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmedshāh was definitely taken by the Marāṭhas. . . . Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarat.'²

(1) Conquest of Bengal and Bihār

Bihār and Bengal had been overrun by the Maghals, but not wholly subdued. Humāyūn had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Adilshāhs. The Sultans had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. 'Salimshāh Khān, one of the emirs of Salim Shāh, and ruler of Bengal and Bihār, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H.³ His eldest son Dāwūd succeeded, but he was murdered by the emirs ('In consequence of his evil conduct.'—Hallstedt, II, p. 173), and the province was raised to the throne.

'The Emperor was informed that Dāwūd had stepped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his success

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 713.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

3. The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 960 (1553), as in Hallstedt, I, 189, not 981 (1573) as above. Salimshāh's death seems to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and [he was] highly respected by all his contemporaries.'—*Ibid.*, p. 124.

temper had destroyed the fort of Fatsi, which Khatu Zaman built when he was ruler of Jeunpôr.¹ A javelin was immediately sent to Khatu-khatu, directing him to chastise Dild, and to conquer the country of Bihaz.

¹ At that time Dild was at Hüllpôr, and his chief noble, Loti, who

1. Fall of Fatsi. Loti was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Fatsi, and set up a claim to independence. Khatu-khatu Mawin Khatu marched with the Imperial

troops against Fatsi and Hüllpôr. Loti, knowing the destruction of the Alpkins to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Dild, made a truce of peace with Khatu-khatu. The old friendship and respect which Khatu-khatu had for the late Selimân Khatî led him to agree that, upon the payment of two fine of ruyas in money and one in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial troops should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jald Khatu Khatî, he entered into a peace with Dild.

² But Dild was a disolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Khatu Khatu and Seldhar Haddi Benggil, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Loti his faithful warrior (prime minister), and put him in confinement under the charge of Seldhar Benggil. When in prison, Loti sent for Khatu and Seldhar, and sent Dild this message:—"If you consider my debts to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good: After I am killed, fight the Maghals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Maghals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Maghals, they are only hiding their claws." But the power of Dild and of all the Alpkins was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Benggil. So Dild resolved to put Loti out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction. ... So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The demand tribute was put to death, and Dild became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was pulled up with counsel and folly, and made no preparations for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Loti had concluded, he banished all care.

³ When the death of Loti was reported to Khatu-khatu, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Benggil and Lathewati and marched against Fatsi and Hüllpôr. ... The Emperor, when he heard of this, de-

1. Dild found himself in possession of an immense treasure, 40,000 well-armed cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 2,000 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—*Ibid.*

himself personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Patna, he sent off his camp and elephants by land, under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khan Barak, one of his chief aides. He placed Agra in charge of Shikhar-ud-din Ahmad Khan Malhapuri, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of Safar, 962 H. (15th June, 1596). The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, medicines, etc., and so. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the army for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats.....Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore ("In the evening they rest, unless, and the Emperor engaged in diversion upon shooting, and poetry, etc.—*Ibadat*, i, p. 124). Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops.....On the 28th he reached Kori, a dependency of Jaunpur, at the confluence of the Ghaghara and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was visited upon by Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had brought down the army by land.

On the 29th Barak's son he reached a village near Janderi. Here a despatch arrived from Khair-ud-din, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th the boats fell down the Ghaghara to the Ganges, and Mirza Yusuf Khan, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal boats.... Khair-ud-din and the other aides advanced two miles from Patna to meet the Emperor, who on the 10th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the town of Khair-ud-din. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made. On the 17th Akbar held a council of war.....He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Hajipur (which stood opposite Patna, with the Ganges, about two fars in width, facing between Sam-Akbar-Nilou, ii, p. 121), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna. The Khans greatly applauded this scheme.....Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fakh Khan Barak, commander of Hajipur, and many Akbarians were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fakh Khan Barak, and the heads of the other Akbarians were thrown into boats, and sent to Delhi. Out he might see with his own eyes, what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Delhi's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight....Salah Beg, who was Delhi's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Mirza Shams-ud-din, placed his valuables and treasures in a boat and followed him.....

Late at night, when the flight of Delhi was reported, the Emperor gave orders to barak, and as soon as it was light, Khair-ud-din having assumed himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The fact of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is dated in this line, "Mulla Salim-ud-din al-Bihar nab." (1597).

Shah had refused. "The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengali prince. He had returned an Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the Dusseh festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the Sikoras and the seasons."¹

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the rebels, he left Khun-Khalid in command of the army, while he himself dashed off in person to Gajpur Kila (Dild's citadel)

When he reached the Piplin (later near Patil), he went over on horseback, and the army and soldiers followed his example. . . . Then he gave orders for every man and officer to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. . . . The Ropetis stayed in Durgapur six days. He appointed Khun-Khalid to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowance 25 or 30 per cent, he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agil, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of war, and dismissed Khun-Khalid and other aides

The Emperor remained at Jangpur thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jangpur, Bandra, the fort of Chanda, and sundry other forts and passages directly under the royal envelope, and he gave the management of them to Mirza Mirza Razi and Shakh Ishtiaq Khan.

"When Dild fled from Patil, he went to Gadh. Landing some twenty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tarda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Gadh that in his view it was impregnable. Khun-Khalid marched against Tarda, and arrived near Gadh. (He had already made himself master of Mirzapur, Mongr, and Bhagpur. *Atlas-Clous*, II, p. 80) As soon as the eyes of the terrified Akbar fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Gadh without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khun-Khalid and the other aides. Continuing his journey, and hurrying as he went, he arrived, on the 8th Jamada-ul-awwal, at the town of Khushdada, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tarda. After taking possession of the fort of Gadh, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tarda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal. Khun-Khalid's spies at first reported that Dild intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khun-Khalid thereupon summoned his aides, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he cancelled his orders and advanced upon Tarda. When Dild's spies carried him the intelligence of Khun-Khalid's advance he and his associates thought

of the black night of Parul, and fled in dismay, abandoning the cows. Thus on the 4th January year, the capital of Tando was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people. . . . The Emperor arrived at Ferozpur on the last day of Shweta (January 26, 1845—after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning.)

After the conquest of Tando and the flight of Dilai, Khair-Khailan sent Rish Todor Mal with some other army towards Orissa, in pursuit of Dilai. . . . Rish Todor Mal reached Madhura (in the High District, between Burdwan and Midnapur), was informed by his scouts that Dilai was engaged collecting men in Dinapur, and that his forces were daily increasing. Todor Mal informed Khair-Khailan of this and of reinforcements. Upon their arrival all the chiefs concerned in the expediency of marching to Gourpore, too far from Dinapur, with all speed. When Dilai heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dargah Rish Todor Mal halted and sent swift messengers to inform Khair-Khailan of the position of affairs. Khair-Khailan then left Tando to march against Dilai, and he formed a junction with Rish Todor Mal. Dilai had organised his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans extended their camp, on the Shas Til bank. Still, the armies met (3rd March, 1845) at Tolana, now in the Belahang District (between Midnapur and Jalpaiguri). After the army was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khair-Khailan ordered fire to open upon them from the mounds (mashams) and light guns (mashams) which were mounted on mules in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the masonry moved down the Afghans who were in the advance. . . . An arrow struck Gujar Khan (Dilai's general) and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in the flight. Rish Todor Mal and others who were upon the right now charged the left of the camp. Shaban Khan and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Dilai. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the storm of dismay was cast among them. . . . the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Dilai. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khair-Khailan swamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword."

Dilai fled to Cuttack, in Orissa, but was pursued by Rish Todor Mal and others. "Dilai had suffered several defeats in Orissa, and Gujar Khan, his masonry and support, was slain. Dismayed, he fled to the west; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khair-Khailan with this message: "The striving to crush a party of Madhura is no noble work. I am ready

to submit and become a subject: but I beg that a census of this wide country of Bengal, without the *my* support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will not contest, and never after rebel." The words communicated this to Khatibkhán, and after deliberative discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Dáúd himself should come out to meet Khatibkhán, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding words. (The Hill Tract *Isht*, who well understood the politics of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet, to prevent the execution, met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Áshraf-Náma*, iii, p. 178.)

Dáúd protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most elegant oath. The army of peace was drawn up, and then Khatibkhán brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Dáúd, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the treasury of Orissa may be added unto you for your support, and I had named that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now give you along with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Gaur then broke up, and Khatibkhán started on his return. On the 15th *Djád*, 962, he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled rewards, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khatibkhán, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

When Khatibkhán, with his mind at ease about Dáúd, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the

4. Final On-Source of his destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a town he himself at the bottom of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and subjects should remove from Tanda to Gaur.

In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickens of many kinds were laid out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave (as Gaur he *gr*), and laid themselves to relations and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day deaths of many nobles and officers were reported to Khatibkhán, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the crimes of foolishness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew

name, and at the end of ten days in the month of Rajab, 1258, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had no other man to commend him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shahn Khatin in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khán-Kháná had, so far, so all his property gathered in the great warehouse, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khán-Jahán, who had been supreme governor of the Punjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amir-i umara*, commanded the nobles and the people in his name, bestowed upon him gifts of uncoloured coats, jewelled swords, and a richly caparisoned horse, and directed him to his government.

While the Emperor was entombed at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Dild Afghán had hung away the treaty which he had made with Khán-Kháná, had risen against the civil authority, and had marched against Tando. The Imperial forces in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the treaty, and retired to Hissár and Peshá. All this commotion had arisen, because Khán-Jahán had taken time in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lahore.... The Khán took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3000 men whom Dild had left in charge of Gadhí, and took the place. Nearly 1500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.

On July 23rd, 1838, when Akbar was at Peshá, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khán-Jahán, after the capture of Gadhí, had advanced to the vicinity of Tando. There he found that Dild had evacuated Tando, and had taken up a position in the village of Ah. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khán-Jahán marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Kiváji Abdullá, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy killed him and stretched him, and he fell fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Mirázar Khán, the governor of Peshá and Bihár, to assemble all the troops in his province, and march to the assistance of Khán-Jahán.....He sent by *amir-i umara* five lots of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Ajmir, for the use of the army....The Emperor himself set off from Peshá, but at five *dar* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Then he was visited upon by Abdullá Khán, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khán-Jahán, and who now returned to cast the head of Dild at the feet of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Tarikh-i Dáwlat* closes with the following observations :—
 'Dild Sháh Kirán was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khán-Jahán, seeing Dild in this condition, visited him.

if he called himself a Musلمان, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kashra* and before God. Dildid answered that he had made the peace with Murad Khan personally; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to swear it. Khán-Jahan ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King... From that period the dominion of Hindostán departed from the tribe of Afghans, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Sháh's supremacy over the whole country." "The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576)," writes Smith, "perished along with Dildid, 'the diabolic scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing.'"¹

(2) EMPIRE THROUGH GLORIOUS RESISTANCE: 1571-87

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Rajastán was almost complete but for the flight of Rák Údai Singh of Marvár, who sought refuge in the Amravalla where he founded his new capital of Udaipur. "Four years had Údai Singh survived the loss of Chittaur," writes Tod, "when he expired at Gopurá, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."² "Pradip succeeded to the title and revenues of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispersed by enemies; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his man, he meditated the recovery of Chittaur, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of his power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), nor stopped to calculate the means which were opposed to him."

1. Ibid., p. 166. "Bengal staid' struggle for independence in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir," by D. K. Bhattacháya, in *Bengal, Past and Present*, "Mughal Period: conflict in Bengal" by Sir J. M. S. Smith, in *Jas. to Mar.* 1905; and *Eastern Frontier Period*, XLII, 1-2, 1905.

2. Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 343.

3. "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its sovereignty was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth... Even in 1576 the amount of his landed riches must have been stupendous, and while but the bones of the house could have dared to match the diversity of poverty-stricken Mírzá against the glittering host of rich Hindostáns."—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

.....The wily Akbar arrayed against Prithip his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Malwar, Amber, Bikaner, and even, Baski, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld his disposition. Nay, even his own brother Shajpoh, deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Prithip, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstood the combined efforts of the Empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, leading his family from the fruits of his native hills, and curing the maddening fever Azur (his son), amidst savage bores and whirls late through them, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Shajpoh Akbar should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable; and he spared every resource which had submission for its back, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1532-47) live in every valley: they are engrained in the heart of every true Rajput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conqueror.¹ To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance which had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and mark, as they relate them, into manly tears.....To commemorate the desolation of Chitore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her liveliness', Prithip interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp until the insignia

1. Cf. Smith :—"The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for gallant men whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. The conquered, it may be, were greater than the victor."—*Ibid.*, p. 224.

of her glory should be restored? . . . with the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pratap remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kumbhgar (or Kumbhgarik, situated on a mountain, near the western border of Mewar, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipur city), now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gopurda and other mountain fortresses; and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts situated by the Banas and the Betis, from the Aravalli chain west, to the eastern tableland, was 'he *chiragā*,' without a king. . . ."

Niladri-dhām, whose account we have recently followed for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief

Battle of Haldighati or Chittaur.

description of this glorious fight for independence: "Hirā Kīrti (as he calls Rājā Pratap) was chief among the Rājās of Hindustān. After the conquest of Chitaur, he built a town called Kōtmandi (Gopurda), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hindostān. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kōtmandi Mīrā Singh drew near to Kōtmandi Rājā Kīrti called all the Rājās of Hindustān to his aid, and came out of Chitaur Haldar (Haldighat) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kōtmandi Mīrā Singh, in agreement with his allies, put his troops in array and marched to the battlefield. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rājās on both sides fought fiercely in emulation of each other." Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army

1. "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *pahar* or *haras*, their beds bereft of cover, and their heads left uncovered. But to order distinctly to mark their fallen fortunes and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *salwar*, which always preceded in the van of battle or procession, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the degradation of Mewar still survives; the *salwar* is yet untouched by the *diwān*; and even in the *salwar* by which the patriot King's intent is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant sits off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the *salwar* beneath the one and cover under the other."—*Idem*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 387.

2. The historian Bakhsh has unfortunately joined this campaign, *hargaz*, as he put it, "I have a presumption to desire to dye these black

were killed, and more than 200 Rajputs of the enemy's army were sent to purgation. The enemy lost Panchsheel Gadhral and his son, and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rishi Kadi fought valiantly till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rajputs, and killed numbers of them. Kurwar Mita Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldan, and entered Kilauda. He took up his shade in the house of Rishi Rishi, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Rishi Kadi fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kurwar Mita Singh and his sons with robes and horses.¹

"On the 7th of Sawan, S. 1682 (July, 1678 A. D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the hot blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Haldighati." Pratap retired to the remote fastness of Chitrod, and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewar, excepting Chitor, Ajmer, and Mandलगढ़. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajputana, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Panjth. In 1607 Pratap died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty."

"The last moments of Pratap," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginians, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. . . . Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory is even now idolized by every Hindoo, and will continue to be so, till universal oppression shall extinguish the remaining

mercenary and bent in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person." He said to Amar Kishan, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rajputs on either side, to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs?" He answered, "On whichever side there may be killed, it will be a gain to India." He received with great satisfaction: "My hand preposed in the matter, and I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels. . . ." and that day through the generosity of Mita Singh, the meaning of this line of Mithi Shik became known:—"A Wound strikes, but the sword is India's."

¹ E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 386-88.

E. Smith, op. cit., p. 113.

sports of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain." He also adds, "There is not a pass in the alpine Arivalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratâp,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldighatî is the Thermopylae of Minôr: the field of Dewair has Marathon."¹

The end of the struggle with the Mughals is thus briefly described by Dr. Iswari Prasad: "Rajâ Pratâp was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1667. He reorganised the institutions of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1680 Akbar sent Prince Salim and Rajâ Miln Singh to invade Minôr. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Rajâ aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the imperialists. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Rajâ Miln Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Usûdn Khân in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Minôr, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."²

(1) THE CAMPAIGN OF 1681:

"The year 1681," observes Singh, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."³ When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as the Tâpî river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from various causes. In addition to the unquenchable discontent among the Afghans whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time, Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Haidar, was ever watchful for an opportunity to fall in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Bîhâr, Gujarat, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

1. *Ibid.* op. cit., i, pp. 165-66.

2. *A Short History of Mughal Rule in India*, p. 146.

3. *Ibid.* op. cit., p. 150.

We have noted already that, after the death of Muslim Khān, Khān-Jahān was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December 1578, and was succeeded by Musaffar Khān Tarkhān, in March 1579. *Musāfir d-din turkī*.¹ Musaffar Khān, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many castes of their rights, he demeaned the *alāph* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

Mirā Khān Kāshānī, although he was confidential, and feared that his life might be left unprotected, was called upon for the *alāph*, and received no attention. The purpose of Jahān, which was the *alāph* of Khānī Khān, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as tribute to the *alāph* of Khān Jahanān dāw Bhamā. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khānī Khān, and to recover this Musaffar Khān put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

At this time a *farman* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Musaffar Khān to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirā Khān Jahanān Hāshim, named Roshan Bīg, who had left Khānī and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Caori. This Roshan Bīg was serving the Kāshānīs, and Musaffar Khān issued an order for his execution. He also spoke some harsh words about Mirā Khān Kāshānī. The soldiers who were present, and especially Mirā Khān and the Kāshānīs, troubled together and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and bade out *lāz-i-muḥ*. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Musaffar Khān in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Musaffar Khān collected guns, and sent Hāshim, *Alā-i-Faiz* and Pātur Dān (the former a drummer, and the latter a *Wazīr dāst*), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

When the dissatisfaction of the Kāshānīs was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farman* to Musaffar Khān, in which he said that the Kāshānīs had long been servants of the throne, and it was not right to hurt them; and they were therefore to be reconciled and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *alāph* was to be settled. The *farman* arrived at the time when Musaffar Khān was in face of the insurgents.

Upon the arrival of the *farman*,—Mirā Khān and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Musaffar Khān, asking him to send Khānī Khān and Pātur Dān to arrange terms with them. . . . But, when they arrived, Mirā Khān put them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warlike.

Upon the arrival of the *farman*,—Mirā Khān and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Musaffar Khān, asking him to send Khānī Khān and Pātur Dān to arrange terms with them. . . . But, when they arrived, Mirā Khān put them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warlike.

*Colonized with this, it so happened that Malik Tugh and Rai Panchotam Sakhi, and the revenue officials at Bihir, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the Sijra of Muhammad Milam Kibbi, Asih Bahidar, and all the empire, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Milam Kibbi and the others resolved to rebel, and kill Malik Tugh and Rai Panchotam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Panchotam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jauhi with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Asih Bahidar anticipated him, took him unwares, and killed him.

‘Upon the intelligence of Milam’s rebellion reaching BHI Bhi, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kabihi contacted Musafir Kibi, Milam marched to assist them, and arrived at Gachi... and the rebels gathered strength. The Kabihi then crossed the river, and advanced against Musafir Kibi... Musafir Kibi then took shelter in the fort of Tunda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tunda. They took Sakhi Alai Path, Kabihi Shamsa-d din and others prisoners, and began to pillage....The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tunda, brought Musafir Kibi out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihir fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 houses were razed to the ground. The Emperor some time before this had taken Miri Shamsa-d din Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Musafir Kibi (to be kept in custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the work increased.

‘Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Raji Tadar Mal... and other envoys to suppress it. Farukhan was sent to Muhammad Milam Farukhan, governor of Jaunpur, and...the jagirdars of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Tadar Mal, and render every assistance to crush the rebellion.

‘But Muhammad Milam was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many evil actions amounting to dissipation, and to utter expressions indicative of dissipation. BHI Tadar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, tempered with him, and did all he could to restrain and control him.

‘When the Imperial army reached Mongir, the Kabihi, and Miri Shamsa-d din Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war boats and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. BHI Tadar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventurers composing the enemy’s army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept them posted. Every day skirmishes occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army.....For four months the royal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length were loyal soldiers of the vicinity cut off the

supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Bakh Khan Kakhal fell sick and died..... Miran, not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihâr. Arab Butcher made rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight.... Tuder Bial and the other sons marched to Bihâr..... and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Miran ran away to Bengal in sorry flight. Now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops." After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken, and Bengal and Bihâr were restored to Imperial allegiance.

Akbar appointed his kinsman-brother, Miran Asir Kakhal, governor of Bengal under the title of *Khan-i-Daam*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Bakh Mansûr, the Diwan or Finance Minister, who had been responsible for drastic measures (like cutting down the allowance of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent.) was temporarily removed from office. "Mulla Muhammad Yaqûl, the Khair of Jaunpur, who had dared to give the ruling that rebellion (against an reigning ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Khair of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullas suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another (Rashid, ii, p. 285.)..... Akbar exhibited his usual politic clemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes showed his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct."¹

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious

1. Miran Haidar's danger threatening from the north-west. His brother, Miran Muhammad Haidar, was once

more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kâbil," as Smith points out, "resulting in the capture of Delhi and Agra, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the Imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."²

1. Ibid., pp. 127-68.

2. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

Nizām-d dīn's account of this north-western campaign is as follows:—

In the beginning of this year (1088 H. or 1681 A.D.) intelligence arrived that Mirāz Muḥammad Ḥakīm, stirred by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Khwāsā Kāshān and Mīrās Fārschād, and urged on by his maternal uncle Farīdūn, had set out from Kābil with the object of conquering Hindustān. He sent his servant Shādmān over the Indus (as adviser), but Kāwār Mīrā Singh, son of Rājā Bhag-wān Dās, attacked him and killed him. On hearing of this, the Mirāz crossed the river, and encamped in the parganā of Bākolpūr. The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Persians.

"When Kāwār Mīrā Singh defeated Shādmān, he obtained from Shādmān's portfolio three letters from Mirāz Muḥammad Ḥakīm, one to Khālūd Mālik, one to Khwājā Saif Mānūr (Akbar's trusted minister) and one to Muḥammad Kāim Khān Ishrāqī; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kāwār Mīrā Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the facts concealed.

"When the Emperor marched from Delhi, Mirāz Muḥammad Ḥakīm advanced to Lāhor, and encamped in the garden of Nāibā Khān Khān. Kāwār Mīrā Singh, Saif Khān, and Mirā Bhagwān Dās had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Pālipat, Malik Saif Khān, deputy of Mirāz Ḥakīm, deserted the Mirāz and came to the Imperial camp. He slighted at the loss of Khwājā Saif Mānūr. . . . The Emperor was already suspicious of Mānūr, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mānūr, and showed him the Mirāz's letter. Mānūr overruled (his intention), but it was of no use.

"The Emperor proceeded to Bāikhat, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters. . . . On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Shāhī Bāg had written one of them to Khwājā Mānūr, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirāz Ḥakīm's deputy Malik Saif, to Khwājā Mānūr. Many of the amirs and officers of the State were on bad terms with the Khwājā, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

"Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mirā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Persians, had passed the river of Lāhor, and gone to Kābil. The Emperor advanced from Bāikhat to Kābil, and from thence to Pāw Bāikhat. There he received good news, and trusting as he went, along he reached the Indus. . . . He ordered a fleet to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Shādhān, and he called it *Arīstā Bāstīm*. Boats were sent; so he ordered the amirs to produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the amirs. Kāwār Mīrā Singh. . . and others were sent over the river towards Pāwāwar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Prince Muḥād along with others to effect the conquest of Kābil.

"At this time covers from Mirak Haidin came to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Mir Haidin's along with them to Khatul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court.... But when Prince Mirak came to within seven kos of Khatul, Mirak Haidin issued forth and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Khatul.... On Friday, 10th Rajab (7th August, 1841), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens.... The Mirak (Muhammad Haidin) having made a promise and vow of fidelity, and received an amaran.... His Majesty then turned towards Hindustan, after conferring Khatul upon Mirak Muhammad Haidin.²... He arrived at Lahore on the last day of *Ramazan*.

"He again entrusted the government of the Punjab to Sa'id Khin, Kish Shagirdi Dik, and Kurewar Mir Singh, and went on his way hunting to Peshawar.... On the 25th *Shawwal* he arrived at Delhi (1st December, 1841).

"When the Emperor had been engaged in the Khatul campaign, Bahadur Ali, son of Sa'yid Badakhshi, entered the country of Turbat, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah (and according to Bedford, named the Khatul to be read and coins to be struck in his name); but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khatul Khan. Miran Khin Faramidul (who had fled to the Simlils) being in distress, begged pardon for his offences, through Khin-Miran, and in consequence of the Khin's intercession he was pardoned."

"The success of the Khatul expedition," observes Smith, "gave him (Akbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."

Mirak's claim's account of the rebellion in Gujarat is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest

3. The Gujarat attacks to the narrative, except in the fact that Mirak's... the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nutshell :—

1. Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Khatul province to his brother directly. But the Mirak had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Munceer is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Khatul to his sister.... when she came to see him.... She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mirak to resume the government." (*Akbar*, p. 203.)

2. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kābil, the province of Gujrat was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shāh, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junagadh in Kāchh¹ until 1583, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Daud Khān was appointed viceroy in 1583 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Miran-d din Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *Amir-i*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1583, Muzaffar took Ahmadshāh, and assumed the title and status of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kāfurd-din, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bhavnagar. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahābād to the capital in January 1583. He had meantime appointed Mirza Khān (Ahdumshāh, Daud Khān's son), better known by his later title of Khān-i-Khānān, to the government of Gujrat. The pretender was soundly defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sāthel near Ahmadshāh in January 1584, and again at Nāhāt or Nāhād in Fātipūr. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kacch), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Miran-d-din inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages and ravaging two purpases. He was then recalled.

Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kāchh¹ and Cutch until 1591-92, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or at any rate was reported to have done so. Ahdumshāh got his title of Khān-i-Khānān for his

1. 'We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kariola, two places well known in Cutch. We realised an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we recovered the Kari. . . . After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the purpases of Mula and Modu which belonged to Khampe. . . . After returning to Ahmadshāh, I turned my thoughts to the separation of the Gwādar. In the space of two months I led out an army, and then marched towards Orchaiva and Ahmashāgir. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Mula and Gwādar, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check. . . . In the year 988 the Emperor gave Gujrat to Azam Khān, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.' (*Muzaffar Shāh, E. & D.*, op. cit., V, pp. 446-7).

defeat of Mirza Asaf.¹

(iii) SETTLEMENT OF THE FRONTIER:

Albur, having successfully passed through the crisis above described, undertook campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by a settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kibul, Kishmir, Kandahar, Shaht, and Orissa, and the subjugation of the Baluch and Turuksh, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshan, are all illustrative of this. Having once secured these, he led his last, aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the southern Kingdoms of the Deccan.

The death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kibul with Albur's dominions.

1. Annexation of Kibul. "The Mirza," says Nicholson *etc.*, "was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a father. For the Mirza had often been promiscuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and shared his losses, but had even armed and armed to maintain him in Kibul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 11th Shaaban, 965 (July, 1581). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confine the territory of Kibul to the sons of Mirza. But the nobles urged that the Mirza's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshan was on the look out for Kibul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Panjsh, and he began his march on the 10th of Rabi-ul"

"The Emperor travelled by successive stages without making any halt in Delhi. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *Id*. On the 25th Shaaban he reached the bank of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kaurer Mirza Singh had won a battle of men across the Indus to Peshawar and that Shih Beg, the officer of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had fled to Kibul. . . . On the 28th he (*Albur*) reached and crossed the Begh. Here he received a despatch from Mirza Singh, reporting that the people of Kibul had willingly submitted to the imperial rule. . . . Moreover, Faridan Khan, the uncle of the late Mirza, when Kaurer Mirza Singh entered Kibul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young prince to wait upon the Kaurer. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection, Mirza Singh left his own sons in Kibul in the charge of Samas-din Khan; and set off with the young prince and the nobles of Kibul to meet

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

the emperor.... They were received with princely generosity (at Bheri-patti). Each of the chief noblemen received five or ten thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and gifts were also granted.... His Majesty placed Kaurer Mal Singh in command, and gave him Kiled in Agh.

When the Emperor reached Azah, he sent Bhagwati Das, Niali Kail Mahara, and other well-known nobles, with about Reduction of the 1,000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kildah. On the same day Ibrahim Kail Khin and Rili Singh were sent against the Babakids. Next day Zain Khin Kaka was sent with a force against the Afghans of Swit and Nigam, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Kild on the 15th Muharram, 994.

In former times a Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans, and set up an apostatical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of Pir Ruzsiddi. He was dead, but his son, Jafila, a youth of about twenty, came in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kiled. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised others—followers; and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kiled. In order to suppress this base son of Ruzsiddi, His Majesty placed Kaurer Mal Singh in command, and gave him Kiled in Agh.

When intelligence arrived of Zain Khin having entered the country of Swit, and of his having conquered this sect of Afghans, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd Sahr, 994 H., Zain Khin Cakkar, Rili Birtal and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakim Abdul Path was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined Zain Khin began to plunder and ravage the Afghans, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Kaurer, a person observed to Rili Birtal that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the crest of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four feet, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack designed. Rili Birtal, without making any communication to Zain Khin, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the war was about to set, they reached a delta, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path, and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible slaughter followed. Nearly 5,000 men were killed, and Rili Birtal, who led for his life was slain. On the 14th Sahr's I arrived, Zain Khin Kaka and Hakim Abdul Path were defeated and reached the fort of Azah with difficulty.

This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor.¹ He disturbed these con-

1. Akbar in particular grieved very much over the death of his joint companion Rili Birtal and is said to have been so much moved

manders, and sent Rājā Tadar Māl with a large army to repel the invaders. The Rājā entered the mountainous region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he induced the Afghans to great evils. Rājā Bala Singh, who had marched against these enemies, fought a hard battle with them in the Kshātr Pāt, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Rājā obtained a great victory (1886).

"When Rājā Bhagela Dās, Sālā Kāl Kālā Mohān, and others who had been sent against Kāshmir, reached the pass of Shādyar, on the confines of Kāshmir, Yīlāl Kālā, the ruler of that country, came up and negotiated the pass. The imperial forces remained for some days inactive, war and talk came on, and supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Dās arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The emirs resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by rafters, sheep, and by the mint, or the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yīlāl—*Baddīnī*, li. p. 351) Yīlāl was delighted with the terms, and came to visit the emirs, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor. When they came to Caur, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the emirs were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their oblations...."

Then "Mūhammad Kālā Kālā Māh-Bāh... was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kāshmir. After some marches, they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kaurā, Yīlāl, the son of Yīlāl Kālā, (who had been thrown into prison, and was treated as dead by his son—*Baddīnī*, li. p. 352) considering himself ruler of Kāshmir, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the imperial army, and the news of disaster was sent among the Kāshmiris. The chiefs of Kāshmir were disheartened with the rule of Yīlāl, and several deserted from him and joined Kālā Kālā. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srinagar, which is the capital of the country. Yīlāl deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kāshmir. The imperial army then entered Kāshmir without opposition, and Yīlāl, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountain Srinagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the jaghannas.

"The Emperor, being informed of the matter, sent letters of thanks to Kālā Kālā and the other emirs, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yīlāl raised a force and fought with Kālā, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in trouble mood, he waited

that he gave up food and drink for two days. *Baddīnī* says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any emir as he did at that of Yīlāl."

upon Kikito Kikito, and meddled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.' Radcliff adds that he was eventually sent into China to Rizeh Mien Singh, to join his father; and both Yikio and Yikito devoted to confinement were cut with troubles and charity.)

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Khairat and Khatol and attended to the transfer of several of the important officers. The government of Khatol was given to Zain Khatol Khatol, and Khatol Khatol Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Khatol and Fargal was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Khairat was given to Mirza Yusef Khatol Khatol, and Khatol Mirza Khatol was recalled. Khatol Khatol was sent to Delhi and Mirza Khatol to the Yousafzai, and the jagirs of Khatol Singh at Sahib and Khairat were granted to him. Daulat Khatol Khatol was recalled from Delhi and Mirza, and sent to Gajpur to replace Khatol Khatol who was summoned to Court. Khatol Khatol arrived from Gajpur and was appointed to assist Mirza Khatol Khatol in Revenue and Civil administration.

When the Emperor was at Kabul, intelligence reached him that High Trustee Muzaffar-ud-din, and minister-i-shuja and High Chamberlain, Amir-i-Asrar, had died at Lahore. On the 25th March, 1901, the Emperor started on his return to Hindustan, leaving the government of Kabul to the hands of Muhammad Khatim Khan-i-kabul. . . . He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza Asaf Mahomed Khan-i-kabul Asaf Khan, who held the government of Mirat. He recalled Mr. Wilson-i-shuja Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Kabul-Khanda he gave Ismail-i-shuja instead of the Mirat which he had held in Gujarat.

¹The day at Uthman had been for some years the royal wedding, and many girls of the women had come in with

South and the
 Pacific

he had won letters and tribute, had never come in person to seek himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khankhaidan was now appointed governor of Mobei and Shadkor, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Khotan and the Kalmuks. In the month of July he did (1189) he was met on his enterprise, along with a number of nobles whose names are his numerous in mention. He had a thousand soldiers and a train of artillery.

*Kila-Kilahe had belayed Bird Big for two months. Every day there was lightning and hail on both sides. The Kilahe had got possession of the south, and prevented the passage of provisions. Game had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Kila-Kilahe had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the purpose of his, east Thana. But he met a portion of his tribe on their return, bringing

1. Hachard, B. p. 303: 'Monsi Fiat, on the other hand says, "Yōsei was released from prison, and received a *shūin*, so that he might have better economy, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received." (Jōkyō-Nihon, II, p. 640.)

Just Bih, assuming the Siksha form to be weak in numbers, marched against it. . . . But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went in on battle. The Raja Tatar Bhai's son, Dhara, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Just Bih drew towards the banks of the river, and again encamped himself. Khila-Mishra upon his side, and the Siksha force upon the other, both driven upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day, its length Just Bih's men were reduced to eat their horses and mules, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Just Bih was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. In those the rainy season, Khila-Mishra remained in the village of Yana, in the vicinity of Siksha, for that time. The fort of Siksha was surrendered, and Just Bih gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Bih, son of Khila-Mishra. He also surrendered twenty dhows, fifteen-masted ships.

"The indignance of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, so he deemed it a good omen of his success in Khilach. He then recommenced his journey to Khilach . . . taking one with him as standard . . . It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Khilach, he observed: "It is forty years since I was slain, and sleep no more now with me, here and here in Hind, who have never seen it. If a misfortune should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st Rajab he reached the fort of Patkai, and there rested. On the 15th he started for Lilcon, and on the 4th Rajab he and he arrived there 1585.

"Intelligence had reached him that Kili Mir Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Raja Akbar, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country, which lies beyond Bengal, to the Imperial dominions. The new province was attached to the Suba of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Empire until 1591, when the Marikha conquered it from Alivardi Khan.

"The year 1585 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mir Miran, the Miran, who minded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Sind to the southeast of Quetta which was held by the Puri Afghans. The Miran also mastered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result that all Baluchistan, as far as members of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the Imperial scepter.

'A little later, in April, Kanthar Asaf came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed. . . . The Persian governor, Musallam Husayn Mirza, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbeks asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shah Beg, who had been in the service of his brother at Kabul. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahangir took it. Salakhidin regained it and held it from 1628 to 1648, when it was finally separated from the empire.'

Akbar was ambitious to reconquer his ancestral dominions in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kabul, he was intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshan. Later, 'Mirza Salakhidin, with the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, had returned to Badakhshan, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdull Khān-Uzbeg. . . . Abdull Khān of Badakhshan, when he was informed of Mirza Salakhidin's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirza Salakhidin unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kabul, all Badakhshan came into the power of the Uzbeks.' Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdull Khān with diplomacy. Ninety a lac and a half of rupees, equal to 30,000 ounces of gold, goods of Hindustan, and curiosities were presented to Muhammad Ali Khānabadi for presentation to Abdull Khān. But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the Uzbek hordes, until the death, in 1586, of Abdull Khān, when, relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the south.

(b) CONQUEST OF THE DECCAN :

In August 1594, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan - 'Faiz, the brother of the learned Shahid Abu'l Fath, to Asir and Barhanpur; Khadija Amira-d din to Ahmadnagar; Mirza Muhammad Asim Mahdadi to Bijapur; and Mirza Masud to Golkonda.' But in 1598, 'the ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.' Only Bij. Ali Khān, the ruler of Bidar, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. 'The chief importance of Bij. Ali Khān's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asirgarh, commanding the main road to Deccan, and justly regarded

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

2. *Persian, Bijapur*, II, pp. 286, 288.

as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia."¹ There was no unity among the Sultans of the Deccan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Burhān al-Mulk of Ahmadnagar died in 1584, and was succeeded by his son Burhān, who was killed in battle by the Bijāpūrīs in 1585. "The Ahmadnagar nobles, seeking to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmadnagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince attracted the help of the Mughals in Gujarat."

"Prince Murād, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the north." Akbarnāma, Khān-i-Khāna, also marched to the south at the same time.

"Mulla Murād (the minister) having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, reported of his having called to the

1. Singh of Ahmadnagar.

Mughals, and had already laid in a store of provisions to Ahmadnagar to defend it. He left Chitāl Bēg,

the daughter of Burhān Shāh Shāh, to assume command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bijāpūr frontier. The Prince Murād and Khān-i-Khāna, instead of coming as allies now promoted to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. In November 1586, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by mining tunnels, creating batteries, and sinking mines; while Chitāl Bēg, defended the place with resolute resolution, and wrote letters to Burhān Adl Shāh of Bijāpūr, and Khatib Shāh of Golkonda, for aid. At the end of three months, . . . Chitāl Bēg, appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the trench to be filled up nine feet, before day-light, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile, a report prevailed that the general of Burhān Adl Shāh was on his march, in conjunction with Khatib Shāh's troops, at the head of an army of 15,000 horse, to relieve the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Khān-i-Khāna thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

"It was stipulated by Chitāl Bēg, that Akbar should retain Berar, while Ahmadnagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Burhān Shāh, the grandson of Burhān Shāh Shāh II. These terms being failed, the Prince Murād

1. Singh, op. cit., p. 267.

and Khán-i-Málik marched towards Bada, where they built the town of Shikhar, near Bálápur, and formed encampments in that place. (1885).

'After the departure of the Mughals, Chánd Báid assigned her authority,..... and she ruled, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the laws, married with Báid's horse to the north, in order to expel the Mughals from Bada; while Khán-i-Málik, leaving the Prince in Shikhar, moved with 20,000 horse accompanied by Báid Ali Khán Firuzi, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavari. On reaching the village of Nípl, Khán-i-Málik waited for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy; and having started the chase, then only then-dawn, drew up his army on the sandy bank.... The Khán's Shikhar troops were on the right, the Yash Shikhar on the left, and the Ásh Shikhar in the centre.

'On the side of the Mughals, Khán-i-Málik took post in the centre. Báid Ali Khán of Káshmirah and Báid Rám Chander, at the head of a body of volunteers, began to attack. The onset of the Mughals was begun with much integrity; they broke the advance troops of the Deccanis,.... However, they met with a shock from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did much execution among the Rajputs and the Khándesh troops; Báid Ali Khán and Báid Rám Chander were both killed, and above three thousand of their men, fell; the Mughal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the master of the field in that quarter.... But, Shikhar Khán (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, wore out by fatigue and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependents, however, bore him off the ground; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khán-i-Málik master of the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Mughals returned to Shikhar.'

'The private enmity that had long subsisted between the prince

1. Emperor Múrad and the Khán-i-Málik, at this time rose to take the field in a dangerous height. The King, therefore, circulating Púr. It is prudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Shikhar Áshad Pád, in the year 1805 H. (1807). Khán-i-Málik was recalled to the presence.... At this time Prince Múrad Mirán, killing dangerously ill (of excessive drinking), died in 1807 H.... The King's grief at the death of the son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the meantime, the nobles of the Mughal dominions gained some slight advantages over the Mughals.... Khán-i-Málik was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Dáulá, with orders to occupy the whole of the Mughal territory. After also, in the year 1808, (1809), marched in person to the north, leaving his dominions in the north under the charge of the Prince Ráyd, Muhammad Salim Mirán.

'Meanwhile, Dáulá Mirán and the Khán-i-Málik entered the Deccan. Mirán Fakhr Khán, son of Báid Ali Khán, unlike his father,

assumed a hostile position in Aitgarh after the Mughal army had gone to the south. The Prince desired its capture, therefore, he left on the banks of the Godavari, near Pithapur, in order to reinforce him. But Akbar having reached Sindi directed the Sindi to proceed to Ahmadnagar, as he himself intended to besiege Aitgarh. Dildar and Khan-i-Khanan accordingly marched with about 5000 horse towards Ahmadnagar. The Deccan officers flying before them, left the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation.¹ The city of Ahmadnagar never fell into the hands of the Mughals, owing to its internal dissension. Chishti Khān, the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1608 when 1500 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were committed to lifelong imprisonment in the fort of Golkhar.

Akbar failed in inducing Miran Bahadur Khān to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Burhānpur, and directed one of his generals to besiege Aitgarh which lay only six leagues from that place. After the

4. Capture of Aitgarh. siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the suspension of rains, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison; and although Miran Bahadur Khān had still sufficient men for the defence of Aitgarh, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time also Ahmadnagar fell.... In the beginning of the year 1018 H. (1609), Miran Bahadur Khān, being ill, resigned the strong fortress of Aitgarh into the hands of Akbar, and yielded up resources and arms which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmadnagar was also brought to Burhānpur. Ismaili Ash Shāh of Duggur sent an ambassador to reconcile Akbar, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Dildar Mīrān. A Mughal embassy was accordingly dispatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Duggur. Aitgarh, Burhānpur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar, were not considered into one province the government of which was conferred upon Dildar Mīrān, under the management of Khan-i-Khanan. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Agra, in the year 1011 H. (1602) assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other titles.²

(c) DEATH OF AKBAR :

The above narrative of the conquest of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferishta. The exact nature of the acquisition of Aitgarh is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Aitgarh," says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years."³ The history

1. *Ibid.*, p. 237.



By Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

JAHANGIR

of the remaining four years of Akbar's reign is thus briefly recorded by Ferishta :—

'In the course of the same year (1585), Sheikh Abul Fazl, was ransomed from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurgur, by banditti near Orcha. In the month of Safar, 1005 (June, 1594), Mir Ismail-din Miran, who had been deputed to Bijapur, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Salim to Daulat upon the banks of the Godavari near Falghat,¹ where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Mir Ismail-din Miran proceeded to join the King at Agra. On the 1st of Rajab, of the year 1005, the Prince Daulat died in the city of Bhatnagar, owing to excess of drinking. His death and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 12th of Asmudh-sani, in the year 1006 (31, Oct., 1595), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Daulat belonged only to that King to whom our wedding is due; The verse "The death of King Akbar" contains the funeral letters which comprise the date of his death."²

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abul Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salim's rebellion. The murder of his great competitor, as well as the mismanagement of Prince Salim, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here :—

Prince Salim, on the testimony of Badkhal,³ is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1591. 'In this year,' says Badkhal, "the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic.... In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison."⁴ Commenting upon this, Smith observes, "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified; but it is certain that in 1590 Salim had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."⁵ In 1592, when Akbar left for the southern campaign,

1. Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.

2. Briggs, II, 280. According to Smith, "He died soon after midnight, only in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 31, new style Oct. 27, old style; or according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night."—*Ibid.* p. 284.

3. Badkhal, ii, p. 386.

4. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

he left Salim in charge of the capital. In 1602, when Usmān Khān, an Aghlān chief rebelled in Bengal, Salim was asked to proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Alahabad, appropriated the vast revenue of Bidār (amounting to no less than 50 *lacs* of rupees) and assigned rights to some of his supporters. It was this gross misconduct of Salim that had made Akbar intend to finish the conquest of Adilgarh and hasten to the north. Akbar reached Agra in May 1604, and heard that Salim was coming to the court with 30,000 horse: had, in fact, reached Delhi, only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Alahabad, and at the same time conferred on him the governorship of Bengal and Orissa. Early in 1605, Salim replied that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 50,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile, Salim continued in royal style at Alahabad, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to endure all this, the Emperor communicated his son's insolence to Abul Fazl in the Deewan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin, Bīr Singh Bandela who had been hired for the purpose by Salim. His head was sent to Alahabad, and "Salim received it with unsholy joy and treated it with shameful look." Salim records this crime in the following terms:—

"Shahī Abul Fazl, who excelled the Shahshahān of Hindustān in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself extremely with the jewel of eloquence, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deewan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me. . . . It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Bīr Singh Dae's country was nearly on the route and he was then a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop the rebellion-monger and kill him, he would receive every kindness from me.

"By God's plan, when Shahī Abul Fazl was passing through Bīr Singh Dae's country, the Bīrī blocked his road, and after a little combat, captured his men and killed him. We sent his head to me in Alahabad. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance

of mind, to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away."

Akbar became fatigued, and, distracted with grief, he declared: "If Salim wanted to be the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abu-I Fazl." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Dîr Singh Desi. The murderer, though badly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahangir. "The murder," says Smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to restore his rebellious son."¹

About April 1616, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son, through the intervention of Salim Begum (Ghous Khan's widow, daughter of Hamidullah's sister Gulistan Begum, whom Akbar had married,—the mother of Murad). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly recognising him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salim was ordered to march against Jantar Singh (son of Dîr Singh Pothohar), he went off to Allahabad and resumed his old and selfish ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Mariyam Mahal in August 1616. In November, when Salim came to the capital, Akbar severely reprimanded him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 34 hours (according to *Mu'arrif-i Jahangir*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this Salim hastily accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his brother Dîrshah but continued to live at Agra until Akbar's death in October 1605.²

Asad Beg records: "During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khân-i Isam (aka Khair), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted the Râjâ Mîrâ Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sukhâ Khân-i Isam Emperor.³ They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

3. The Khân-i Isam was Prince Khair's father-in-law; and Khair's mother was the daughter of Begum Dîr, Mîrâ Singh's adopted son's.

determined to win the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respect at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smothered with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the possibility of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.' When these designs were frustrated by other loyal nobles, who declared "This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghtai Tartars, and shall never be;" Khaj Mah Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Salim Khurram with him to his own palace, and prepared him, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mir Murad Ali Khan at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one (Salim). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to glad him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage: at the same moment that sovereign, whose sire was Emperor, bowed himself also and closed his life.¹

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning; but Smith writes, "On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment."²

(c) Akbar's Relations with the Europeans :

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close union with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Akbar was very slight.

In 1581, "The Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultan of the Deccan,

1. - E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 169-72.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 226.

and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places; Bassein (see Malabar, *Bombay in the morning*, p. 217-Dundin, and Din. Their fleet controlled the maritime and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country.¹

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarat campaign. In 1573, while at Chaulay, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abu'l Fadl, "while the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the beleaguered, and to get the bet into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great consideration, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European nations."² A treaty was also entered into with Antonio Calral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Idara-Khanda* [or the House of Worship], Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Var and Peter Diaz) in Bengal. Their report of Christian converts who wanted to defraud the Imperial treasury, by refusing to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pandra, the Vice-General at Malacca. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar summoned Pietro Taurara, the captain or commandant of the port of Bagl; but, says Smith, "Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various questions pro-

1. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 246.

2. Akbar-Nama, K. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 42.

posed to him." Nevertheless, Akbar made him a grant of land, some time between 1578-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Akbar at his Court: "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

These failures only whetted Akbar's curiosity more. So he sent despatches to Goa, both of a secular and religious character. He sent Mirā Abdullāh to bring from Goa European carvers, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ "like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers." Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

In September 1578, Akbar's embassy reached Goa with the following message:—

'Order of Jall-u-din the Great, King by God appointed, Father of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdullāh, my ambassador, and Domênio Pires, to ask you to my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to meet with them and let them receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and what I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know. They will be at liberty to return as soon as they like and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 13, 1578, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rodolff Aguiarva, Antony Monserate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Penian by origin, a native of Ormaiz and a convert from Idola, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Monserate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a wise and observant man, of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mughal Court. . . . Rodolff Aguiarva, the third member, and

leader of the Mission, was an Indian of high social status and of outstanding sanctity."¹

The Mission started on November 27, 1579, and reached Fatlipur Sikri on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maclagan, "came to Akbar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its doings have received notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian historians, Bâdshah and Abul Fazl; the former writing from the orthodox Muslim standpoint and the latter from Akbar's own eclecticism. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." *Miscellaneous Reviews* (1882) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Akbar at the time of the Mission and the *Commentaries* (1580) which forms the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were ambitious of converting the inhabitants of "Bijapur." But, as Maclagan says, "in view of the unsolicited invitation addressed to Goa and the known predilections of Akbar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the efforts of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal concerts were not unknown in the Indies . . . a near relation of Bijapur had been baptised at Goa shortly after Father Radcliff's arrival from Europe. . . . There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success."²

Akbar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accepted quarters in the palace. . . . They were given food from the royal table; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him in Portuguese. In personal intercourse with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them,' says

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Monerrate, 'to remain unswayed in his power; both at the so-
lenn meetings of the grandees and in private interviews, when he
would take them aside for private colloquy, he would tell them
to sit near him. He would shake hands with them, most familiarly
and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to
indulge with them in private conversation. More than once, in
public, he walked a short distance with Radolf, his arm round
Radolf's neck. . . . ' This familiarity encouraged the Fathers to speak
to him seriously on faults in his regime or his conduct. . . . 'moderately
however and not without first examining what mood he was in.'"¹

The King, in short allowed them every liberty, and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty,' says Radolf, 'ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abul Fazl to trans-
late the Gospel.' During the Kabul campaign, Father Monerrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's career, his loves, the torens through which he passed, his advance beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kabul: a document, as Montague points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King,' says Monerrate, 'suffered: but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith, he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fail to honour and kiss publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on, if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monerrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Radolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful, remained at Pathankot for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and designs of the Christians:—

'First' he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than hitherto: he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater

1. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

displays that, at first, shows much affection, though impediments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Father, a boy of sixteen years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language and therewith the things relating to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrate was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of heathens called Bhotan (Tibetans) which is beyond Lihore towards the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. They are white men, and Muhammedans do not live among them, whence hope that if two evangel Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom we confide in matters of Faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and gives much re-consideration of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our Faith. He is very friendly to us and intent on our Faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation. (5) Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his son, it seems not daring to leave it before trying all possible means to procure the conversion of the continent of India; seeing that all that had so far been done has been merely on 'the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Monserrate were not encouraging, and Father Rudolf was also finally recalled by the Provincial at Goa. In February 1883, he left Achar carrying with him an appreciatory epistle to the following effect:—

'God is great. Fervent of blessed St. Muhammad Achar Mubtish Ghil. . . With regard to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about sending home Father Rudolf,—since I like very much the Book of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it, with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father; and, considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refuse him the permission; but as Your Paternity asked it on by letter several times, I did so, and gave him the permission; and as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more and more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudolph back to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay; for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like them much. And to the Father I said many things by words of counsel, for him to report them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will consider well. Done in the moon of the month of February 1883.'

Father Radolph, however, met with an unexpected death and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N. S.), 1543, he was killed together with four companions by a fanatical mob of Hindus at Cassilim near Goa. In 1560 Radolph was beatified by the Church, and is now known as the Blessed Radolph Aquaviva. Albeit, when he heard of this unexpected end of the Father, exclaimed 'Ah me, Father. Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me.' He loved him, says Monserrate, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognised the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus ended the First Jewish Mission to the Coast of Alabar.¹

In 1545, Alabar for a second time renewed his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a Jewish Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon to carry his message to the Provincial. "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *Perestre* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Don Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending." To the Pathans of the Solaty, he wrote:—

"In the name of God, The exalted and invincible Alabar to those who are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and had men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are likened as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomp and honours of earth: Fathers who walk by the true way: I would have your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Mohammedans, save that of Jesus Christ which is from God and is well recognised and followed by many. Now, in that, I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers, I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Don Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese)

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

Fathers of great products and learning; and if this be so, your Reverencies will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputation with my doctors I may compare their several learning and eloquence, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors... and who by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live in greater honour and favour than any Father who has, up to this time, in this country; and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask of you in this letter. Written at the commencement of the moon of June.¹

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leiton (Leitaoes) and Christopher di Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lisbon in 1691. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November 1691, mentions, 'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1691, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessities were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Miguel and Diogo) and grandsons (Khalid) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by the king to do so. . . . And as the reverence of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and justly in the matter.'

But, as Smith observes, 'No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1692... The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat firm-headed.'² Thus closed the Second Mission like the First, in disappointment and failure.

In 1694 Akbar, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians

that might be sent to him. The message was conveyed by an American Christian. But the Provincial, being

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-7.

2. *Smith*, op. cit., pp. 224-25.

very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character." So it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Gooz were selected for the purpose. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence." The first had seen much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "seeing sometimes for the convenience of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese." In the end he too returned to Goa, and died there in June 1617. The second, according to Madsen, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mughal to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court." He remained for many years at Lihore as pastor of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later "he departed hence to a better Mission." Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughal, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lihore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, sailing via Daman to Canbay, and thence they proceeded through the desert of Rajasthan, and after two months reached Lihore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1605, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badami's account stops with 1595 and Abu-i Fufa with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission, was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessors, this Mission was also well received at Lihore. Father Pinheiro states in his letter of September 1595, "Both Emperor and Prince (Salim) favoured us and trusted us

1. Madsen, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

3. *Ibid.*

with much kindness and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit." On the 20th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote: "He [Alber] received us politely with great favour and kindness and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court. . . . He has images of our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. His greatest pleasure is showing them to others, holding them in arms for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails. . . . He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, wherewith his servants handsomely adorned our chapel. . . . The Emperor gave us leave to bring together so many as might so wish to the church of Christ."

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the feudatory Princes and those of the Chief of Badakchân. Two of these pupils asked to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lâhore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1587 while Alber was in Klâmrû and the Governor of the city attended in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Picheiro in his house. At the following Christmas, Brother Benedict de Gons prepared a sacred Calf which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Alber's example in their attention to the Fathers and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The heir apparent himself, Prince Salim, became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.¹

When Alber went to Klâmrû in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Gons. They stayed till November 1587. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many pagans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return, both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether

1. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

ther two and a half years at the Court of Aibar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1598 the King of Spain, wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and advised that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. 'The fruit,' he wrote, 'which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleases and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest.' But the Fathers got exasperated with Aibar's attitude. Aibar explained to them courteously that, whereas former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Aibar during his southern campaign. When Aibar himself confronted with the difficult slope of Aulgech, Aibar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that such action was contrary to the Christian faith. De Jaria, however, points out that the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the Kakkadai forces against whom Aibar was fighting were in alliance with the Portuguese.¹ This, therefore, enraged Aibar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Aulgech fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details. "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says MacLagan, "the main point of interest to the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven renegade Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and were by him reconverted to Christianity."² Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lahore, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder 'which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favourites'. Aibar returned to Agra in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa, for the fourth time, but only for a similar purpose. In his letter dated 20 March, 1601, Aibar requested, not for priests, but for a political

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

2. *Ibid.*, 58.

alliance, skilled craftsmen, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their munitions to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordnance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Cozo and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Moghal Court formed a sort of 'College' or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mirza Asir Kald, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting each of his subjects as desirous to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held to ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated, by the intervention of the Fathers. 'My lord', said Xavier, 'you have liberated fifty captives, and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.'¹

In spite of these cordialities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but more particularly on account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering at the Court of the Grand-Moghal. Consequently, in 1585, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happening is thus given by Guerreiro and de Jarric :—

'The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him in the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought, and having commended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Capotins, and he so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and decided to seek another opportunity. They came away, fully persuaded that he was seeking and preparing. . . . On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that . . . His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace; but they could find no one who could make their arrival known to the King, or dare to speak to him of them; for already such matters were more in the hands of the great nobles than of the King himself; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual.'²

1. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Calcutt, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkani, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,000 synopses of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants started with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbery, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbery. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgium, Elzephin, Cologne, Maastricht, Breda, and went to Agre via Madrid and Algiers, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and waded oftentimes for our lives.' Fitch was the only member of this party to return to Europe; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Fitch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Patliputr (Patna) and Agre.—"Agre," he writes, "is a very great city, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falls into the gulf of Bengale. It hath a fair castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Schirhin (Shirhind din) Schirhan : the people for the most part call him the great Mogor."

"From thence we went for Patnapore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The town is greater than Agre, but the houses and streets be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. (Maharajahs and Hindus).

"The king hath in Agre and Patnapore as they doe ordinarily report 1,000 elephants, thirde thousand horses, 1,400 tame deers, 800 oxenlines; with store of Curres (caracals), Tigers, Buffes

(buffaloes kept for fighting), Cows and Hens, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Daristan.

"Agra and Patna are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.¹ Between Agra and Patna are 12 miles (now 120 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and as many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine carves, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheels, which he draws with two little Bulls about the bigness of our great dogs in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silk and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamonds and Pearls. The king is apparelled in white Cloths, made like a shirt dyed with stripes on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. None come into his house but his eunuchs which keep his women."²

The next Englishman to come to India was John Milesbush or Mitchell, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter is extant. Milesbush who was a merchant, sailed from London on February 12, 1598. He made his way to Lahore, early in 1603, by the land route via Kandahar. He brought to the Emperor 36 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth £500, which put the Jesuits "in an exceeding great rage." They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time "the Jesuits brought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself."³ When Akbar

1. The population of London in 1600 was 122,634, and 152,478 between 1586-5. The population of Patna (Bhoj, according to Smith, may have been about 200,000 in 1595.—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

heard the case against the Jesuits, he granted a *farman* to Middenhall. "The discontent of the Jesuits," says Smith, "must have taken place in August or September 1605, after the reconciliation with Salim and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September."¹

Middenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Arctur*, call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's life-time were only persons unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the coasts of India and never cared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE

'T hark the murmur of their robes and cranks,
I see them marching as they will, I reap
No reverse from the field of unrelief.
I call them every faith and name the best,
And harvest soul for cornmeal and bread.'

TEMPER. AKBAR'S DREAM.

Those that take up the sword can have only one justification, viz., seeking not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of the people coming under their sway. Sher Shah had tried to rule according to this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, as far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the energy of his house had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aim of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Abul Fazl, "It is universally agreed that the noblest accomplishments are the reformation of the manners of the people; the advancement of agriculture; the regulation of the officers; and the

¹ *ibid.*, p. 204.



Sketch by Mr. F. H. Anderson

AKKADIAN EMPIRE IN 1800 B.C.

discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity.' Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Moreland, has pointed out, was "severely peasant." A chief or sirdar who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his position of authority. His administrative system necessitated, however, the direct relations between the State and the individual peasant, the assessment and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts.* It was in fact a centralized machinery acting through a bureaucratic machinery: all the affairs of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments: Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. N. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :—

1. CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT

'The chief Departments of the Mughal administration were :

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Dar-ul-Hisab*).
2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khair-i-Mamun*).
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Subah*).
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qadi*).
5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*).
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Makhdum*).

'Inferior to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were :

7. The Artillery (under the *Afif Aksh* or *Dargah-i-Nizam-i-Hisab*).
8. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Dargah* of *Dakh-i-Mamun*).

'The *Imam-ul-Jamia* (i. e., *Shari'ah* and *Wazir*), each under a *dargah* or superintendent, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khair-i-Mamun*'

1. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 2 and 34.

1. *The Chancellor* : The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazir* or *Wazir*. He was the Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Moghuls he exercised delegated authority, like the Masters of the Palace in medieval France, or the *Pandits* in India. He was always the *Diwan* as well, and in this capacity, the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Moghul Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition : but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. "Thus, in its origin, the *Wazir's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was accidental and a mark of Imperial decadence."

2. *The Sahib or Pay-Master* :—Almost all officers of any rank being enrolled, at least in theory, as military commanders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and passed by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mir* or *Jam* *Sahib* when he had under him those officers, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Sahib*.

3. *The Khair-i-mahfil or High Steward* :—This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Manucci, "He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things." All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (e. g., food, tents, stores, etc.). Often *Wazirs* were chosen from among the *Khair-i-mahfils*.

4. *The Qil'at qazi or Chief Judge* :—This 'Qil' of the Imperial Camp, as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qazis* in various parts of the Empire.

5. *The Sadr-us-sadr or Chief Sadr* :—This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Superintendent of the Endowments of land made by the Emperor or Princes, for the support of pious men, scholars, and monks. "It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinise applications for fresh

1. Seeley, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 212.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. civ, p. 16 n.

grants....The *Saib* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperors set apart for charity in the month of *Ramade* and other holy occasions,—amounting to 14 lakhs of rupees in the reign of *Aurangzeb*, and at Court ceremonies.¹ Like the *Chief Qazi*, he also made the appointments of the local *Saib*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.²

6. *Mutawali or Censor of Public Morals*.—His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not indulge in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the censor ran:—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of "professional women" (*qawwā*, dancing-girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Qur'anic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'³

II. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire,' observes *Barrow*, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Wazir*, but popularly known as the *Sāhibdār*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *Amildār*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *samsādār's* visits to the *Sāhibdār*, and (iv) the tours of the *Sāhibdār* himself. But in spite of all this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchayat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

The duties of the principal provincial officers were as follows:—

1. The *Sāhibdār*: His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the imperial *farman* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instruction issued to a new *Sāhibdār*, though they look like models of perfection, were:

1. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

'He ought to keep all classes of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the oppression down.... the *alibek* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion... and every month send two dispatches to Court by *alibek* reporting the occurrences of the province.

'When you are appointed, you should engage a good *diwan*—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grades—and a *muwalli* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*muwalli*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affairs of the province on which you may write to His Majesty.....

'Encourage the ryots to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not serve everything out of them. Remember that the ryots are permanent (i.e., the only permanent source of income to the State). Coordinate the revenues with payments; it is cheaper to keep them in hand than than to replace them with troops.'

2. *The Provincial Diwan*: He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *alibek*.' The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Diwan* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *amils*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Diwan* the occurrences of the *alibek*, with a statement of the cash balance with him. 'The *Diwan* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*amils* and *alibek*s) practical men who were likely to induce the ryots to pay the government dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement' (*Musnad*, 13-14). The usual of appointment ran:

'Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When the money is paid into the treasury from the dues of the *alibek*s and other sources, give receipts (*qasab-namas*) to their agents. See that no official (*amil*) exacts any *harab* (tax) over (*alibek*).

'At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (*Orighal*) papers the arithmetical and particulars of the *amil*s and remove to the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. Report to or discharge *amil*s to Government (i.e., to the High *Diwan*) as that better men may be appointed to replace them.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

"If any land has its shares of revenue accounted for many years, you should collect the due amount from the village in question by any landholders at the rate of 5 per cent, every season. The interest loan given last year by Government should be repaid in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay on delay payment, Government will compel the *Dhikts* and the *saiks* to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Revenue Office according to the regulations."¹

3. *The Fashid*: The *fashids* were assistants of the *Satishids* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *fashid* was in charge of a division or district of the province. The following instructions were issued to them:—

A *fashid* should be brave and just in dealing with his soldiers. He should select in his contingent of armed retainers only men of known bravery and good family.....

"Keep up your position in the number of all weapons of war, in training and in riding horses, so as to keep yourself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance.) Do justice to the oppressed. (Manual, 21-24).

"Destroy the lairs of wicked men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue papers. Assist and give (armed) support to the *gashidiks* (agents) of the *shahids* (in the case of military levies) and the *khakhs* (in the case of Government) at the time of collecting the revenue.

"Forbid the blacksmiths to manufacture warlike arms. Give the *shahidiks* (men in command of the outposts or smaller areas within a *fashid*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from dispossessing the people from their rightful property and from looting any forbidden ones (*chakhs*)."

4. *The Kotwal*: The *kotwal* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *RAM* era and the various festivals by the people; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of vice, and even wasteful extravagance by private individuals, 'because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep census of the houses and inhabitants in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and foreigners coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc., etc. No wonder, there-

1. 1845, pp. 52-53.

2. 1845, pp. 62-63.

tion, Abu-l Fazi lays down: 'The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, strict, and humane.' His duties are then described in the *Am-i-Albani* :—

'Through his watchfulness and night-patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented streets, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events should occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a faithful scribe. . . . He should integrally observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a careful addition, make his vigilance reflect lumens on his administration. Of every guild of artisans, he should name one as a guild-master, and another as leader, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft. . . . He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or fee, save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, lambs, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every abode a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its circulation by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchase to be made outside the city. The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the set not more or less than 30 dinars. In the gas. . . he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and restrain the people from the making, the digesting, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate fires and wells for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses; and prohibit women from riding on horseback. He should abstain that no ox or buffalo or horse, or cow be slaughtered, and forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled, nor any man to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc., etc.'

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

2. *Am-i-Albani*, ii, pp. 41-2.

3. *News Reporters* : There were four kinds of news-reporters : (i) *saibai-saigai* ; (ii) the *sanpaku-saigai* ; (iii) the *shōkyō-saigai* ; and (iv) the *hōkoku-shi*. The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all the towns ; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or regularly, to make sure that *saibai-saigai* sent correct news. The news letters were sent to the *shōshōji-shikōshū*, i.e., Superintendents of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them over to the *Wakū* to be placed before the Emperor. ' These four classes of public intelligences acted under the orders of this *Shōshōji* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an irate governor would publicly insult or beat the head news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Shōshōji* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.'¹ The arrangement was that ' *saibai* should be sent once a week, *sanpaku* twice, and the *shōkyō* of *hōkoku-shi* once (2 a month) and the dispatches in cylinders (*saiki*) from the centre and the *shōkyō* twice every month, in addition to urgent matters (which are to be reported immediately).'²

4. *Revenue Collectors* : (i) The *Krai* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*ibn.* i, p. 11), and signified an officer in charge of a district which was expected to yield a revenue of one *Krai* of *Dān* (½ lakhs of *rupees*). Later on the name was applied even to other collections of state dues like the *levies* of *ganj* or collection of markets. The *usual* of appointment read :—

'Collect the revenue *within* by *means* as imposed by the *emirs*, and pay it to the *Imperial*. With the advice of the *Imperial* and *emirs*, carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *Imperial*. Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of receipts and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were :—

'The *emir* ought to maintain a body of *saibai* (*voluntarily*) proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand *more* (the state due in cash or kind) from places not yet capable of paying, but their *revenue* should not *lessen*. He should urge his subordinates not to violate anything in words of the regulations, but he should in the end be subject to *control*

1. *Sarkar*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

(examination of accounts with a view to detect peculation). He should be honest. (*Mansab*, p. 68).¹

(iii) *The Amle and the Qilangse*: The *Amle*, as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual peasant paying the same. According to the *Mansab of the Duties of Officers*, 'The *amle's* work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the *qilangse* the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue with the *bricks*, *chamfarts*, *qilangse* and *ambedars*, inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their (culturable) area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the *qilangse* with the real area, and if the two did not agree, call upon the *qilangse* to explain, and censure the headmen (in the case of shortage).... Then inquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivation of the village. If not, then grant *taqasi* (agricultural loans).... for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headmen for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *bricks* that they would realise the loan with the first instalment of the next year.

The *Qilangse* was the living dictionary of the *qilaks* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the values, taxes, extent, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and excisions of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Mansab* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc.... Keep two copies of the records,—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your *gawal-dar*) so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'²

The *Am-i-Akhbar* relates, 'In the fortieth year of the Durrani

Em. His Majesty's dominions consisted of one *Fifteen Sikkah* hundred and five *Sarkish* (divisions of a *Sikkah* subdivided into 2577 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made..... His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Sikkah* and distinguished them by the appellation of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 68. [Read *The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 309-118.]

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

the tract of country or its capital city. These were Alahabad, Agra, Gadh, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Bikan, Bengal, Delhi, Khat, Lahore, Multan, Mithal; and when Delhi, Rohindab, and Ahmednagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.¹ This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration, products, etc.

III. Akbar's Revenue System

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, liquor-tax, professions, monopolies, and igderies. In total, according to the *Ain*, amounted to 355 Khar of *Aksh*; the land-revenue alone (from the 12 *sabds* in 1570-80) was Rs. 20,544,000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570-71 Munaffir Khat, Turbat and Raj. Tadar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local *qanungos*, and checked by tax officers at the head-quarters. "Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Moghal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the amount of the State demand."² In 1573, Tadar

Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarat, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Tadar Mal's *Rasul*.

"There is no name in medieval history", says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Tadar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system." Two years later, in 1575-6, with the exception of Bengal, Bikan, and Gujarat a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 162 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *hazir* of *aksh* (7) or Rs. 124,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *hazir*, described above. This artificial system was too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579-80. This resulted in the

1. Edrickes and Gurnea, *Moghal Rule in India*, p. 128.

2. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 181.

division of the Empire into the 12 *sabiks* already referred to, and the introduction of the ten-year settlement. The history of these reforms is thus given in the *Shih-i-Akbari* :—

'When Khwajih Abul Mughl Jang Khān was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the exigence of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the Empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of promotions and retirements. When this great office devolved on Munaffer Khān and Abul Tahir Mān, in the 14th year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the *plungers*, and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh settlement. Ten *plungers* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *plungers* and lodged them in the Imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.

'When through the prudent management of the Sovereign, the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the precise extent and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandmen complained of extensive taxation, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue increase. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discretion of his well-advancing mind fixed a settlement for ten years: the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the drive era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment; but from the 25th to the 34th year the collections were accurately determined and the five thousand *rupees* accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement: the *guz*, the *kos* and the *dhigul*, were set and defined.* When His Majesty had determined the *guz*, the *kos*, and the *dhigul*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

* *Pahj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Powari* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chackri* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Asper* is land uncultivated for five years and more.

1. *Shih-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 28-32.

Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is assessed in the royal dues. The revenue levied by these khilats, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the general sale of material, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the military, the value was taken in ready money....

His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the jewellers and the silversmiths.....Military levies, equal in amount to the income of Hindostan were granted by His Majesty as a thank-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following :—

The registration tax, the post duties, the pilgrim tax, the tax on various classes of articles, *Darogian tax*, *Faisallah's tax*, market duties, passports, dues on the sale and purchase of a house, on salt made from mining earth,.....In fine all these levies which the natives of Hindostan include under the term *Sale field*, were admitted.

When, after from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but one-fifth of the produce is taken; in the second three-fifths; in the third two-fifths; and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 3 per cent. and one *anna* for each *higal* are added.¹

IV. THE ARMY AND FLEET

We have stated above that the salaries of almost all important officers of the Empire were disbursed by the Subtil or Pay-Master General of the Army. They were all entitled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers; and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under them. "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sarkar, "we have officers invested with the title of *spah-salar* or 'commander of troops,' it was only a mark of honour and they did not command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief."²

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-7.

2. Read "Mansur-ur-Rahman on Akbar's Army" by Mintoed, in the J. I. H., April 1906.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Alau'd-Din thus describes the organisation of the Imperial Army :

'His Majesty guides the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.' The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were (1) *Mamuldhars*, (2) *Aludhs*, (3) *Shahis*, and (4) the *Soldiers*.

1. *Mamuldhars*. According to Alau'd-Din, the Emperor appointed the *Mamuldhars* 'from the *Shahis* (commanders of ten) to the *Dar-i-Hauz* (commander of ten thousand), ranking, however, all commands above 500, to his august sons (to whom of the highest rank)....

'The monthly grants made to the *Mamuldhars* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his warrant, was put into the First Class of his rank; if his contingent was one-half and upwards of his fixed number, he was put into the Second Class; the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less. Their salaries were as follows :—

Rank; Comman- der of—	Monthly Salary in Rupees.		
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
10,000	60,000	—	—
5,000	30,000	20,000	20,000
1,000	8,000	8,000	8,000
500	2,000	2,000	2,000
100	700	600	500
10	100	800	70

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mamuldar*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mamuldhars* actually maintained the full complement indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 323; one of 1,000, Rs. 30,150; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,637.

The higher *Mamuldhars* were mostly Governors of *Sabhas*. They were at first called *Shahis*; towards the end of Akbar's reign they were known as *Maliks* and afterwards, *Sahib Sahas* or

Sekandër, and still later merely *Sikāh*. The other *Mamuldhars* held *dhikr* which after Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the *Mamuldhars* formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasuries. Radford states: "Sikāh Khān, the *Mir Baksh*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dhikr* = *sekalh*, (branding of animals), which had been the rule of Allā-d dīn Khān and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was ordered that every Amir should commence as a Commander of Twenty (*khaj*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Saif* or Commander of 100 or more. They were thence to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their *Mamul*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their new contingents complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hasabī*, *Dakawāl* and even *Pant-hakār*, which is the highest *Mamul* (for other than Princes of the royal blood; Bājā Mīrān Singh, who held a *Mamul* of 7,000, was an exception); but if they did not do well at the masters they were to be put down."¹

2. *Akālā*.—"There were many brave and worthy persons," says Abul Fazl, "whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *mamul*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons being in the immediate service of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Akālā*."

For the sake of the convenience of the *Akālā*, a separate *Shah* and pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Amirs* is their chief. Many *Akālā* have indeed more than Rs. 500 per mensem. In the beginning when their rank was first established, some *Akālā* counted eight houses; but now the limit is five. . . . *Akālā* are counted every five months, when on a certificate signed by the *Shah* and the *Sikāh*, which is called once-a-days *Faislkhān*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be counter-signed by the principal granter. This the treasurer

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 298-47.—Read Paul Sri Ram Sharma, "Organisation of public services in Mughal India (1526-1707)" in J. R. O. S., XXXII, 1937, pp. 1, pp. 1-64. Also "Rank in the Mughal State Service" by Mowland in J. R. A. S., Oct. 1938; "The Rank in the Mughal Army" by Mowland, in J. I. H., Dec. 1938; and "Some Notes on Mughal Mamuldar" by C. B. B. Rao Sahib, in *Ibid.*, April, 1937.

keeps and pays the *da'at*. . . . On joining the service an *Akshil* generally finds his own horse; but afterwards gets it from the Government. . . . Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one half being selected as given, and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four months; or, if the *Akshil* be in debt, in eight instalments.¹

3. *Bashil*.—A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Misakshils*; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive title as *ashat musabils* or *half troops*.

•The fourth part of *Bashil* troops are *musabils*-*haaram*; the others carry bows.

•Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, ploughs, belong to this class.²

4. *Infantry*.—They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

•The *First Class* gets 500 *ahms*; the *Second*, 400 *ahms*; the *Third*, 300 *ahms*; the *Fourth*, 240 *ahms* (Rs. 1=40 *ahms*.)

•There are 12,000 Imperial *musabils*-*haarams*. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bashil*, an honest treasurer and an active *Sawqil*. A few *musabils* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks:—

•Some are distinguished by their experience and skill and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may prevail in the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these (*non-commissioned*) officers is of four grades, *First*, 300 *ahms*; *Second*, 240 *ahms*; *Third*, 200 *ahms*; *Fourth*, 160 *ahms*.

•Common *musabils* are divided into five classes, and each class into three sub-divisions. *First Class*, 250, 240 and 230 *ahms*. *Second Class*, 220, 210, 200 *ahms*. *Third Class*, 190, 180 and 170 *ahms*. *Fourth Class*, 160, 150 and 140 *ahms*. *Fifth Class*, 130, 120 and 110 *ahms*.³

Besides these regular troops there were a number of miscellaneous camp-followers like the runners, woodmen, and *Pahls*-*haarams*. About the last the *Ain* says "They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Pahls*, *slaghams*, *chashafs*, and *shaks*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting.⁴ There are many in this country.

1. *Ain Akhbar*, I, pp. 345-50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

3. Cf. *Only* © *gaily* we glide and we slog.

We bear her along like a peat on a string.—

Sayyid Nadeem, *Pakistan-Jamana*.

but the best came from the Dekhin and Bengal. . . . The pay of a head bearer varies from 182 to 384 *ahms*. Common bearers get from 128 to 160 *ahms*.¹

'When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,² he ordered that upright *Sikhrils* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race were to be registered. A *Berrighe* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations. . . .

'His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay.'

Various signs were used for branding horses. 'At last, marks were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron marks, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh. . . . The candidates, with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses. . . . Horses answering the description in the rolls were even killed, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not foolproofing, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest. . . .

'The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether new or fat, an opportunity to come to Court and to partake of the Feast of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or held off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on wedding parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

'The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other

1. *Al-Bid'ah*, I, pp. 228-64.

2. 'They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily feed has also been fixed. These seven classes are Arab, Persian, Syrian, *Mulimmas*, Turki horses, Fables, Turks, and English horses.'—*Ibid.*, *Al-Bid'ah*, II, *On the Feasts of the Army*, pp. 228-66.

divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

'His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers...if His Majesty is prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From perfection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.'

'The Order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department: hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrupulously into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes.'

'Guns are wonderful tools for protecting the august edicts of the State; and bettering keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are some-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 120 lbs.: several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the highest objects of a King, and devotes to it much of his time. *Amir-khan* and other chiefs are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order....

'The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Subah* has that kind which is fit for it for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements. His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches....

Amirs and *Alaifs* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *daens*.

Machinade are now made so strong, that they do not burn, though set off when filled to the top. Formerly they would not fill them so near that a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by clamping pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from fear, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction: They fashion iron, and twist it round obliquely in the form of a coil, so that the coils get

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 335-58.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

knaps at every twist; then they join the sides, not edge to edge, but, as in the silver chain, so in one over the other, and leave them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and place them where hot with an iron pin. These or four such pieces make one gun or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long.... Shells are also made as in the case of the sword.... Several things are marked on every manufacture, viz. the weight of the iron and the manufactured iron; the place where the iron is taken from; the workshop; the place where the gun is made; the fire; its number....

‘Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments in order to draw manufactures. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be drawn in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a man.’

The department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general: it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture, and His Majesty’s household. His Majesty, in fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

Ships.—The firing out of strong boats, capable of carrying soldiers. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in ships and for the purpose of strong forts. Experiment officers look upon ships as if they were houses and bombardiers use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Soudan, and Russia. In every part of His Majesty’s Empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kishkur, and Tataria (Siberia) they are the pivot of all commerce.... Along with the coast of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The barbasen have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Baidah and Lahore and are then sent to the coast.

‘Specially.—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shadows and suns. Besides, a seaman must be bold and strong, a good swimmer, stout-hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen come from Malabar (Malabar).

‘Finally.—An experienced man has been appointed to look after

the rivers. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding ferries, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very shallow, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry boat may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are passed over gratis. He ought not to allow people to swim across, or horses to be deposited anywhere else but at landing places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night unless in cases of necessity.

¹ *Farshih*.—The remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of the whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes certain taxes in business places; but they never exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which is no little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon business taxes as totally remitted.

² The following rates are levied as river tolls :—For every boat Rs. 1 per day, at the rate of 1000 *maise*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Rs. 1 for every $\frac{1}{2}$ ton. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ l. for crossing; a laden cart, $\frac{1}{2}$ l.; *mans*, empty, $\frac{1}{2}$ l.; a laden cart, $\frac{1}{2}$ l.; empty carts, horses, cattle with their things, $\frac{1}{2}$ l. 1 *mans*, empty, $\frac{1}{2}$ l. Other beasts of burden pay $\frac{1}{2}$ l.; which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay $\frac{1}{2}$ l. for crossing; but they are often taken gratis.

³ The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

⁴ *Mardanas* are therefore well taxed, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.

V. THE IMPERIAL MINT

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Abul Fazi*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abul Fazi, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details.... The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, cautious and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and conscientiousness. Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abul Fazi, viz. the *Darogah* and the *Shiqsi*.¹ He also gives the description of the following coins :—

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-82.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

KEY TO COINS OF THE EMPIRE.*

I. *Diwan* :

Diw.—in circle the *halqa* ; margin, in segments, portions of

أبناكر الدين

(" *Abna Bala*, the faithful servant.")

خير والقوي.

(" *Khair*, the characteristic between right and wrong.")

شاه ابو نورين

(" *Shah*, the father of two lights.")

عمل الرحمن.

(" *All*, the planting to god.")

Diw.—within flattened *collet* area.

شهد الدين محمد بن بادشاہ غازی ٩٣٦

above

السلطان الاعظم الملقب بالكرام

(" *The* most great Sultan, the illustrious Emperor.")

below

خدا الله تعالى ملكه و سلطته

(" *May* God Most High permeate the kingdom and sovereignty.") and

خرب لاهور

(" *Struck* at Lahore.")

* Prepared with the kind assistance of my colleague Prof. H. D. Saxon, M.A., M.F.—191908.

2. Humsārīn :

Obs.—in circle, the kalimah.

Rev. — خلد الله اعداى ملكه . . . محمد هياويوس بادشاہ قازى .

[“ May God Most High perpetuate his kingdom . . . Muhammad Husayin Bakhsh Ghilai.”]

3. Sair Sairi :

Obs.—in square, the kalimah ; mirrored in on No. 1.

Rev.—in square

شیرشاہ سلطان خلد الله ملكه .

[“ Sultan Sher Shah, may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom, 968 A.H.”]

Below in Nagari : Sri Sri Sairi (an attempt at Sher Shah's name) mirrored :—

السلطان الاعدل ابو القهر

[“ The just Sairi, the father of the victorious.”]

فرید الدین ضرب آگرہ

Fird-uddin. Struck at Agrā.

4. Aghar :

Obs.—in dotted border, the kalimah. Names of the four companions of the Prophet, and 961.

Rev.— خلد ملكه چلانی الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ قازى ضرب
بلد آگرہ .

[“ May God perpetuate his kingdom, Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Bakhsh Ghilai. Struck at Agrā town.”]

6. Jahāngīr :

Obv.—jahāngīr alimshāh, seated cross-legged on throne, hand to left, goblet in right hand.

Around

قضا بر سکه زرگرد تصویر
خیمه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

("Dwelling on coin of gold has drawn the portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr.")

Rev.—sun in square compartment in center : to left

خریب آجیر ۱۰۲۳
"Struck at Ajmer 1023."

To right $\frac{1}{2}$ معین
("O thou fixed one")

and $\frac{1}{2}$ سنه
("Year 5")
above and below

حروف جهانگیر و آلفا-اکبر
از روز اول فرماده شد برابر

("The letters of Jahāngīr and Alif-a-Akbar are equal in value from the beginning of time")

6. Sadaī Jahāngīr :

Obv.—the half-moon in 3 lines :

below

خریب احمدآباد سنه ۲ الفی ماه خورشیدی

("Struck at Ahmadābād in the month Shahrivād of the 21st year 5")

(16)

Ras.—

صاحب قرآن کرامی
شهاب الدین محمد
شاهجهان یادشاه قلزی

سنه ۱۰۴۸

(“The second Shah-i-Qiran, Shahab-ad-din Mohammed Shah
Jahan Shahzadi Qand, year 1038.”)

2. ALMANACH :

Qir.—

سکه زد بر جهان جو مهر شیر
شاه اورنگداز ز سپ تاغ گیر
۱۰۷۲

(“Struck money through the world like the shining two Shah
Aurangzeb Alangir.”)

Ras.—

شرب شد سکه و چلوس
مهرشد مائوس

(“Sunk at Tatta in the 5th year of the accession associated
with ampedishment.”)



Shown by A.P. V. N. Ambekar

COINS OF THE EMPIRE

1. The *Shibuchi* is a round coin weighing 100 *satōmō*, 9 *satōmō*, and 7 *mon*, its value equal to 100 *satō*'s *Joōshōmon*.

A. Gold Coins. On the field of one side is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the five sides in the border, "the great Father, the deified-ancestor Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Success to the capital Asahi!" On the reverse is the beautiful Japanese (*Kakemono*) and the following verse of the *Genji*: "God is beautiful unto whom he pleases, without measure"; and round about are the names of the first four *Callio*.

2. There is another gold coin of the same name and shape, weighing 50 *satōmō* and 8 *satōmō*, its value equal to 100 round *satōmō*, at 11 *satōmō*, each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

3. The *Koban* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square.

4. The *Chōmei* is the fourth part of the *Shibuchi*, round and square.

5. The *Shōmei*, of the same two forms as the *shōmei*, is value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-thirty-fifth of the *Shibuchi*.

6. The *Chōmei* (or *Jagō*), of a square form, is the fifth part of the *Shibuchi*, its value equal to two *satōmō*.

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Thus the *Shōmei*, "As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to name *Large Joōshō*, *Daime* and *Moone*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders." The first of these is 1000 in *Shōmei* Fiat's list, and is said to be of the same weight, and value as the *shōmei* (10 *satōmō*, 14 *mon*) = No. 700. The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *shōmei*.

1. The *Koban* is round, and weighs 114 *satōmō*. It was first introduced in the time of *Shōmei*. It was per-

ished during this reign, and received a new stamp, one side "Aikō Aikō, *Joōshō* *Joōshō*," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 *satō* yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

2. The *Joōshō* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. Its value and stamp is in the same as No. 1.

3. The *Shōmei* is half a *Joōshō*.

4. The *Chōmei* is a quarter *Joōshō*.

5. The *Moone* is a fifth of the *Joōshō*.

6. The *Daime* is the eighth part of the *Joōshō*.

7. The *Daime* is one-tenth of the *Joōshō*.

8. The *Koban* is the sixteenth part of the *Joōshō*.

9. The *Shōmei* is one-twentieth of the *Joōshō*.

1. For illustrations of these "coin-legends" bear in *Kōmei*'s reign see *Idai*, pp. 17-8.

"The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupre*, which is however different in form.

1. The *Dih* weighs 5 *tanbā*, Gr. 1 *tanbā*, 3 *malabā*, and 7 *malā*;

C. Copper Coin. It is the least part of the *rupre*. At first this coin was called *Patāli*, and also *Patālā*; now it is known under this name (*dih*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dih* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *prāṣ*. This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adhāḥ* is half of a *dih*.
3. The *Prāṣ* is a quarter *dih*.
4. The *Damāl* is one-eighth of a *dih*."

Notes.—In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined . . . in many parts of the Empire; new gold coins are struck at four places only, viz., at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmedabad, and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at the places, and at—Hāshang, Agwa, Ujjain, Surat, Dhol, Patāl, Kāshmir, Lāhor, Multān, Tandilā. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Agwa, Aulā, Akā, Agra, Badkō, Barān, Bhāṭār, Bānāsh, Pān, Jaupūr, Jāhāndār, Hāndilā, Hāir, Fāḥilā, Kāpāl, Gūllān, Gūnāhāt, Kāshmir, Lāhorān, Māndil, Nagr, Sāhān, Sūkāh, Suroi, Sāhānpūr, Sārangpur, Sāndil, Qandil, Rāṭānāhāt.

"Monetary affairs in this country are mostly transacted in round *malabā*, *rupre*, and *adān*."

The Persian writer De Laet (1585-1649) states: The wealth of this prince can be estimated: firstly, from

Alber's Treas-
ures.

the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and

equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey); secondly, from the fact that no-one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him every day not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes.¹ Although De Laet really wrote this of Jahāngir, his statement is equally well applicable to *Alber*. Further on he observes, on the death of "Aḥabar, grandfather of the prince now reigning [*Shāh Jahān*], his treasures were carefully counted, and

1. For more particulars about *Alber's* coinage see *ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

2. J. S. Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, p. 106.

were found to amount in all (including gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manner of household commodities to 34 crores, 82 lacs, and 26,080 rupees (i.e. to Rs. 348,226,386); of this total Rs. 195,248,696 was in specie of all descriptions.¹

This treasure included, besides the pearls, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Georgia and Europe; muslins from Bengal, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Tartary; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 6,462,714 in value.² etc. Prof. Barrow, commenting upon this, writes, "The inventory of the treasury of Akbar is an unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Mansurgha (1588) and Mansurgha (1602) Total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was six times greater than the present rate, say, in 1804. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of 2500 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich, Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of 2400,000 and huge number of bankruptcies!"³

VI. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS⁴

With all his genius for practical achievement, Akbar was, essentially an idealist and a dreamer. In addition to his conquests and administrative organization described above, he also aimed at what Abu'l Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people.' Thus, while on the one hand, he forbade infanticide, and excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the heinous pilgrim-tax and *Jajir*, and tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people—Hindus and Muslims—by setting an example of inter-communal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world: 'For an Empire ruled by one head.' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided

1. Ibid., pp. 327-8.

2. Ibid., pp. 111-12. See also A. Asia, op. cit., pp. 514-55.

3. Read "Akbar's Religious Policy," by Sri Ravi Shama, in I. H. Q., XXII, 2, 3, 1937.

among themselves, and at variance one with the other.... We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be one and all with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way heaven would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people, and security to the Empire'.¹

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Barrow saw in it only Akbar's 'state and transient policy.' Even Vincent Smith speaks of "The fit of religious jockey which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578," "a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infallibility decree in September of the latter year."² He further declares, "The Dine-i-Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom.... The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unbridled autocracy."³ In view of this unqualified criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.⁴

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Din-i-Ilahi*,

Din-i-Ilahi.

as the new faith was called was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism.

Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits alone. Being heavily disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To cite Barrow in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure, especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore consider accounts of the *Din-i-Ilahi* given by two rival witnesses, Abul Fazl and Barrow, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

1. *Id.* to Barrow, cited by Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 221-22.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

4. In support of the view upheld in the present volume the reader is strongly recommended to read the chapter on *Din-i-Ilahi* in *The Mughal Empire* by Mr. B. M. Jaffer. The opposite view is maintained in C. H. I., IV, pp. 126-128.

'Wherever, from lucky circumstances,' says Abul-Fazi, 'the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their King on account of the high position which he occupies, and accept him to be their spiritual leader as well. . . . A King will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, conversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar) . . . (He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.)'

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India, people had not outgrown the belief *regis regis eto regis*. England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fairs', and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her chamber-maid!

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the State; but he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. 'In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection,' says Abul-Fazi, 'though he is the ornament of the world. . . . Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting newness, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing. . . .

'The members of the Divine Faith, in seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says "Allahu Akbar"; and the other responds, "Jalla Jalaluhu". The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the claret usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

"Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

"His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without teaching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishes, and bird-carriers.

"Members should not consort with pagans, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty."¹

Badkhal was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations.

He was the very antithesis of Akbar's Paul. He

looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islam. "His

historical work, entitled *Mu'izzat-ul-Futuh*," says Blochmann, "is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnama*, or the *Tuhfat-i-Akbari* or the *Afrasiy-i-Rahimi*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time."²

"In this year (983-4)," writes Badkhal, "His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person, the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any man. As he had heard that the Prophet, his loyal successors, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amir Timur, and Mirza Ugha Beg, and several others, had themselves read the *Khatibah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Majid* of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jum'ah* of annual 987, in the *Masjid* of Fatimid, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khatibah*.... These are the verses—

"The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm.
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from thoughts everything but justice.

1. Ibid., pp. 165-7.

2. Ibid., p. 154, n. 2.

His justice surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allahu Akbar!"

"In the same year (1917), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdum-ul-madani of Sheikh Abdurrahman . . . of Cadr Jahan, the *Shaykh* of the Empire, of Sheikh Mubarak, the deepest writer of the age, and Ghazi Khan of Bakhshabad, who stood unshaken in the various sciences. . . .

THE DOCUMENT

"Shi'as, Hindustan has now become the centre of security and power, and the land of justice and benevolence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal Ulama, who are now only represented in the several departments of the law and in the jurisdiction of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the affairs which are in course of transacting, but are also known for the piety and devoted intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first of the verse of Qur'an (Sur. IV, 81):

"Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you" and secondly, of the genuine tradition: "Surely, the man who is devoted to God on the day of judgment, is the Imam of Allah; whomsoever obeys the Imam, obeys Allah; and whomsoever rebels against him, rebels against me;" and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning of religious; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Shaykh* (Imam) is (not only) higher in the eyes of God than the rank of *Majlis*. Further we declare that the King of India, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fatah Jalaluddin Muhammad Ali* Shah *Hasan* Ghazi, whose kingdom, God perpetuates, is a most just, most wise and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Majlis* are in variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear vision, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and hence a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'an but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal

and Ulama and lawyers: in the month of Rajab of the year 987 of the Hijrah."

Commenting on this, Badkhal writes, "No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open: the superiority of *haddith* of the *Imam* was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of *haddith* of the *Imam* became law."¹

The grievance of Badkhal's charge against the innovators was their rejection of Islamic revelation, and their intellectuality. "The Emperor examined people," he says, "about the creation of the *Qur'an*, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the *Imam*. He distinctly denied the existence of *Jinn*, of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints: he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our Faith, the proof for the truth of the *Qur'an* as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of *Muhammadianism*, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing... To repeat the words of the *Creed*, to perform circumcision, or to be prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & O. op. cit. VI, pp. 60-61).

In the eyes of Badkhal this was unpardonable apostasy from the orthodox faith. From this moment onwards, he and the bigoted *uqala* began to discredit everything connected with the new faith: they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against every one connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and feared: it raised the head of rebellion in 1581, and died away in futile discontent. We find it still slumbering in the pages of the *Muntakhab*:

"The poor orthodox *Shakh*s who were, moreover, left to the mercy of Hindu Financial Secretaries, began to exile their spiritual selves, and had no other place where to live, except monasteries.....

"In this year (1585) *Kun* and *man* fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence that His Majesty was the *Shakh-i Daula* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of *halla*s.....The *Shakh*s mentioned similar opinions.....All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else."²

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

'During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The first degree consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever sacrificed one of them but, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the three.'¹

Badkurt has been definitely begun to caricature. Badkurt was certainly not one of 'all the courtiers' who had signed away their 'property, life, honour, and religion' to the Emperor; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (1568-1604 H.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abul Fazl has added two. 'With the exception of Mir Bai, they are all Ishmaelians; but to judge from Badkurt's remarks the number of those that took the Shari' must have been much larger,' says Hirschman.² According to Badkurt's own testimony, Hajib Shagird, Isha and Mirza Singh declined to accept the new faith;³ they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badkurt's justification was further accentuated by the lesson (or was it only fairness?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindus: 'The real object of those who became disciples,' he writes, 'was to get into office; and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could not get enough(!); for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Ishmaelians nor the Maghals can point to such grand deeds as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples of my worship, His Majesty reproved or punished them (?). For their honour and soul he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (!).'⁴

Badkurt stands self-condemned, out of the words of his own mouth; in his opinion, not merely Akbar, but every one who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunni creed was an apostate. His denunciations, therefore, against Akbar, and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 208.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Abul-Fazl are worth nothing. They are the offerings of a fanatic rankling under the reforms introduced by Akbar 'with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of these reforms. Let us follow Halliday's own account of them:

'His Majesty was now (1604) convinced that the Millennium of the Islamic dispensation was drawing near. No private disputes, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. The Shaitan and infidelity, who, as enemies of their Christianity and piety, had to be utterly discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to dispense the edicts and principles of Allah, and to rule the faith of the nation by making war and almost regularities.'¹

1. The first order which was passed was, that the empire should show the sun of the millennium (Hind Kird), and that a history of our thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet.

2. 'Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that men's senses got quite perverted. Thus the *ajlâk* or prostitution was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings; but instead of *ajlâk*, the worst similes were used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body as recommended by doctors; but its drinking as impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, as gambling, and sports. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the class of women. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any rich person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop

4. 'Similarly, the prostitutes of the nation (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Challishahrah*, or Devil-city. *Darogah* and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take away of them to their houses. People might indulge in such recreations, provided the toll collectors knew of it

5. 'Dief was introduced, and to catch deer was considered degrading. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu Ministers, and had thus learnt to look upon a deer—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great

an ascendancy over him, as to make him however best, gentle, virtuous, and the wearing of a breast, which keeps his majesty still within.

4. "He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindoo customs and tenets into the Court assemblies, and introduced them still, in order to please and win the Hindoos and their courts; to abstain from everything which they think is repugnant to their nature, and hence upon sharing the least as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him (5). Hence this custom has become very general

5. "The dining of both as is not with the Christians, and the showing of the faces of the Devas . . . and other childish play things of deities, were daily in practice.

6. "It was also forbidden to marry one's cousin or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of natural love. Boys were not to marry before the age of 20, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages were weakly. . . . No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife." . . . If widows (led to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindoos.

9. "A Hindoo girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt." "If a Hindoo woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced."

10. "Hindoo who, when young, had been pressed to become Mussulmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. No man should be compelled with an avowal of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked. If a Hindoo woman had in love with a Mohammedan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Mohammedan woman marrying a Hindoo—so, to the Muslims." People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and gentry control or the temples, or the temples."

All this, according to Radford constituted blasphemy and apostasy! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Radford as a witness "of the highest value." "Radford's interesting work," he says, "contains no such hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's lifetime, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Suard, is of the

1. 1940, pp. 110-65; see also pp. 377-8.

2. Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 204.

3. Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 205.

4. 1940, p. 307; E. A. D., op. cit., VI, pp. 18-9.

5. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 223.

6. Ibid., p. 228.

Aligarh called at a clock on the target paragraph composed by the *Intelligence Bureau of Aligarh*. It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian literature, but agree generally with the testimony of the *British records*.¹

On the strength of the testimony of this 'hostile' and 'bigoted' *Saral* witness, Sealé writes, "The general principle of toleration, . . . , while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islam, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own people, and actually persecuted a persecution of Islam."²

The reforms described above were not the work of a single poet : they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India, as well as Europe. ("The sixteenth century," writes Prof. Sealé, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The great currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the sweeping up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalised her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of sect, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious results it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they fought for a time the battles of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realisation of the all-absorbing love of God."³

Not only were the times stirring and propitious, but Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. While Birar and Hamid were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took comparatively lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by

1. Sealé, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

3. The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Dost-Bakh" by Prof. H. N. Sealé, in the *Journal of Indian History* Calcutta, Dec., 1905, pp. 206-26.

their change of view under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalising influences of his family and country. His tutor Andal Latif was 'a prince of learning' and the guiding principle of his life was 'Self-i-kud' or peace with all. Smith himself writes: "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy,' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they detain me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.' (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 386). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. 'We are told at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God. ... His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the mists of the early hours of dawn.'"

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." "On the completion of my twentieth year," he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness and from the lack of spiritual provision for my long journey my soul was seized with amazing sorrow' (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 388). Commenting on this, Smith rightly observes, "It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it. He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to conclude that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them. He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself. During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganisation of the

1. Smith op. cit., pp. 186-7. *Reed C. H. L.*, IV, no. 119-120.

finances were numerous which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. *No minister would in reality have carried them through.*"¹

In 1582, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his dominions, declaring it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered extraneous.² The following year, 1584, he also abolished the *Jajya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,³ although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu'l-Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar abolished the *Jajya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim taxes at a still earlier date. The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all differences in treatment between Muslims and Hindus, were fixed on political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and ardent Muslim, and long before his open breach with Islam, which may be dated in 1580, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *Jajya*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."⁴

In 1575 Akbar erected the *Ibadat-Khanda*, or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions.⁵ At first it was used only by Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and Amins. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But

1. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 66-7.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 29-30. This tax was originally instituted by Khutb Qasim. In India, under Firoz Shah Tughlak it was assessed in three grades, viz., 40, 20, 10 *musab*; Britains were charged 10 *musab* and 50 *shah*. It was reimposed by Akbar's father in 1573.

3. Smith, op. cit., pp. 66-7.

4. See "Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious Discussions" by Rev. H. Hume, in the J. B. B. R. A. S., III, 2 and 3 (1820), C. H. I, IV, pp. 113-114.

the 1812 wranglings of the Muslim *dinaw* gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Let us follow Rastani's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other fountains to slake his thirst :—

"For those discussions which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Naywakh, Shukhs, Ullahs, and grandees by turn. But as the guests gradually commenced to quarrel about their places and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side; the Naywakh on the west side; the Ullahs, to the south; and the Shukhs, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries..... when all at once, one night, the vein of the rock of the Ullah of the age swelled up, and a fearful noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Rastani), "In future upon any of the Ullahs that cannot behave and talk seriously, and I shall make him leave the hall." I greatly said to Lord Elph. "If I were to carry out his order, most of the Ullahs would have to leave;" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.¹

"The differences between the two parties of the Ullah, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, convinced Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickering."² He therefore now turned his enlightenment to Parsas, Jains, Christians, and Muslims. Or, in the words of *Ala-i-Faiz* : "The Saltanat's Court became the home of the inquiries of the "seven dinaw," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect."³

According to Smith, Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the *Tas Zoroastrian*. Fewer, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his "old (?) detailed manner."⁴ Dastir Maharsar Firak of Niasiri had the privilege of initiating Akbar into the mysteries of this religion in 1578-79. They had first met near Khairan Khari during Akbar's Gujarat campaign in 1573. After his death in 1581 the famous Dastir was succeeded

1. *Shahnameh, Ala-i-Akbari*, I, p. 171; E. & B., op. cit., VI, pp. 39-40.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 351.

3. *Akbar-Nama*, II, p. 260.

4. Smith, op. cit. p. 182; read also *Ibid.*, p. 185 n. 3.

by his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jagir* of 200 *hathis* of land (300 acres), which was later on increased by one-half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when lamps were lighted it became the practice for the whole Court to rise respectfully. According to Badliad he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). 'His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.'

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Hirsland Shāstri,¹ "would show that Akbar learnt the *Sāhya-sahasra-nama* from a Jain teacher of his The list

The Jains.

given by Akbar's Paul names three Jain gurus for whom the Great Moghul had a very high regard. The *Mirāt-i-Jayā* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hira-vijaya Śīrī on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-gurū* or the Preceptor of the World. The *Āditya* temple on the holy hill of Satrajaya near Patilana in Kithlādr has a long Sanskrit inscription, written on its walls which combines the praise of the Jain monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Moghul did under the noble influence of the Jain saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of *Adhva* restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jain teachers.' The colophon of the commentary on the *Kāśīkāvya* would show that Akbar met the *Sāryasahasra-nama* with Bāhuchandra, whom Hira-vijaya Śīrī had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Śāhābādāra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bāhuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Moghul."

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with

Akbar's relations with the Jesuits from whom

The Christians.

he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badliad accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross 'and other childish playthings of theirs.' Smith says, "The contribution made to the

1. *Encyclopaedia*, op. cit., p. 306.

2. "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, March, 1931) pp. 127-40. Also read "Jainism under Muslim Rule", by K. P. Jain, in the *New Indian Antiquary*, 2, 3, pp. 124-25.

debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the factors which led Akbar to pronounce (?) the Muslim religion.¹ But if the Fathers expected to have in Akbar an impartial convert to their religion, they were surely miscalculating. Yet, he cannot agree with Smith when he declares, "Probably Akbar was never positively sincere when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion, but . . . His interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative religion,' and was prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an avowed conscience."² He is nearer the truth when he says, "He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Parsee, a Hindu, a Jain, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept finally any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four."³

Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion.' In 1581 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Akbar suddenly returned from a great hunt on the Jhalam, for which he had made elaborate arrangements, when in the words of Abul Fazl, 'a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame: the attraction of the cognition of God was its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Badkhub who writes, "suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned: 'Take care; for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise!'"⁴

Smith in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical?):

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 388-9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 358. Also see "Christianity at the Court of Akbar and Jahangir" by E. F. Abbott, in *J. H. Q.*, XLII, 2 (1908), and C. H. L. IV, pp. 126-8.

4. Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-9.

"He (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the fantastic freak of filling the Aakshatka tank in the palace at Fatehpur-Sikr with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said, ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is bewildering in its meagreness, but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit.*" (!) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he continues, "No man can tell exactly what happened. when, like Dante, he was '*nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*,' 'in the middle of life's path,' and, like the poet, saw a vision, beholding things that cannot be uttered."

Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—*He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, presents perplexing problems*."

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal idealism of the Hindûs who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the Rājputs, the most martial section of the Hindûs, has already been considered upon. He took to himself Hindû ideas so symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He called Bijāi Mīn Singh, Bhagadīn Chā, Bīr Bai, and Todar Mīn to the highest ranks given to any rebels in the realm. He adopted Hindû dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to antagonise and scandalise orthodox Muslims like Badkūhī. To his utter chagrin he set Badkūhī the task of transferring into Persian the sacred books of the Indians like the *Astasāhāsmat*.¹ "The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun. to please the Hindûs. His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, probably extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

2. Read "Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time" Dr. C. Kshetrasārya, in the I. H. Q. XIII, 1, 1907.

discontinuing the use of them altogether. . . . His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindu worshipping *Giyatri*). . . . He also adopted several other practices connected with the Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on the forehead, and ordered the hand to play at mid-night, and at break of day. . . . Once a year also during a night, called *Sivrit*, a great meeting was held of all *Jogis* of the Empire, when the Emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogis*, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. . . . Clothing, throwing *Brickmills*. . . . told the Emperor that he was as immortal (*amrit*), like *Rama*, *Krishna*, and other *Infalible Kings*. . . . In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise in India, who would banish *Brickmills*, and cover, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.¹

Soon Karnaśarma or Akbar.

To enhance the view of Akbar herein presented, we might view this brief study of Akbar with a few well-known opinions and estimates of his character and achievements.

Jahangir's Memoirs: 'My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion: especially the Pandits and the learned of India, and although he was *Shi'ite*, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that he was aware how to be *Shi'ite*, and he was so well-acquainted with the sciences of verse and prose composition, that his deficiency was not thought of.

'Notwithstanding his simplicity, his treasures and his bound wealth and vast metropolitan, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding.

'He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not

¹ *Richmann, op. cit.*, pp. 300-1.

more than a watch and a half. He counted his watchfulness at night as so much added to his life."

Col. Mollison: "Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head.... His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by according which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contemporaries were the most ardent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with those. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him.... The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so aside him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

"When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognize in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconvert it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." (Akbar, pp. 166, 168-169).

Stanley Lane-Poole: "The ablest king that ever ruled in India" (p. 288). "The true founder and organizer of the Empire." "Represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire." (p. 238) "Assimilation of the Hindu chiefs was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign".... "The remarkable points about this expansion... were, first, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindu princes, and secondly, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government, for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenues did not suffer. Akbar allowed no oppression—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken mainly for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking and peculation. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindus, who at the time were better men of business than the uneducated and necessary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders (pp. 238-49).

"There is no name in medieval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Tadar Mah, and the reason is that

writing in Aligar's reference more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great landlord's reconstruction of the revenue system." (p. 361). "Todar Mal's order (to keep all accounts in Persian), and Aligar's generous policy of allowing Hindûs to compete for the highest honours,—Mîrâ Singh was the first commander of 7,000—explain two facts : First, that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindûs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; secondly, that a new dialect could arise in India, the Urdu, which, without the Hindûs as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Medieval India*, pp. 365-66).

Kennedy and Garrett : "Aligar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Moghuls from mere military leaders into a permanent Indian dynasty." (*Mughal Rule in India*, p. 52).

Vincent Smith : "The practical ability displayed by Aligar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries. . . .

"He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests surely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements." (*Aligar the Great Mogul*, pp. 322-3).

Elizabeth Parnet : "Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon *Jauhar* sources, dwells upon Aligar's selfishness and duplicity in statecraft and speaks of his 'torments diplomacy and perfidious action. . . . Dr. Smith forgets that Aligar's great contemporary Elizabeth had character, and Green goes so far as to assert that, in the profusion and recklessness of her life she stood without a peer in Christendom.

The vice methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain, and elsewhere are too well known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more humane than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. Arrogant and impartial research by scholars everywhere conducted with regard Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries."

(*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 426-7.)

Liverpool Dispatch :—"His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Through a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practices worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government. (pp. 8-9) There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (Akbar, p. 23).

He also thinks Smith "curiously unfair to his hero." *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 415, reviewing Ringen's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of "Akbar's religious attitude, on which our estimate of his character largely depends." "In this particular Mr. Ringen goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as fable from time to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faiths in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion within his call. Jain and Parsi, Brahman and Jesuit, each is heard with attention and respect; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brahman is too subtle for his practical mind; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give; the Parsi attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that ceremonial. Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political seeking for a faith in which all people might be united have

scarcely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Blyden does, to the very almost!"

A. T. Stark: "Akbar was the greatest of the Moghuls and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man or the inheritance of his life, it may yet be said that Akbar was no great, because he was so thoroughly Indianized. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticize him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—in his life and outlook and achievements which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure."

(*The Spectator that was lost*, p. 30.)

E. B. Havell: "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed, his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination. . . . He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth ever show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious: but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the nation power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of India into a higher plane than they had ever reached before."

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Din Ilahi did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the slate all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other Empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realize the Aryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by British

rules of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill."

(*Aryas in India*, pp. 536-7.)

Dr Mohanlal Banerj : "The Age of Akbar has been described as an age of great rulers, and some hold that of his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and 'Athalia the Great' of Persia, he was not the least. Some have written of him as though he were no less than what his enemies alleged he pretended to be. But with all his faults, and they were neither few nor varied, he was by far the greatest of all who ruled India during the era of the dominance of Islam in that land. A foreigner in blood, though he happened to have been born on Indian soil, he was the only one of the long line of rulers professing Islam who ever conceived the idea of becoming the father of all his subjects, rather than the leader of a militant and dominant minority, alien in faith, and to a great extent in race, to the nations of India."

"In spite of his literacy he was far from being unlearned, nor was his intellect unexercised, for he delighted in listening to the reading of works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects, and of discussing afterwards what had been read, and his memory was such that he acquired through the ear a stock of learning as great as that which most of his associates could acquire through the eye. The Jesuits at his court were probably not biased in his favour, but one of them thus describes him :

"Indeed he was a great king ; for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile : so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at mid-day, and at mid-night, and despite his many duties, his prayers on those four occasions, which were of considerable duration, were never curtailed. Towards his fellow-men he was kind and forbearing, even to taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender, if just grounds for doing so could be shown."

(*The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 152-53.)

Lord Freytag : Last but not least, Thompson's charming colleague "Albion's Dream" went up the legs of Albion in a net-draw. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit : "His tolerance of religions," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his abhorrence of religious persecution put our Talmud to shame. . . and his legislation was remarkable for vigour, justice, and humanity."

Albion to Abel: Paul :

[Before the entry of Father-Abel at night.]

My noble Abel, my faithful brother,
Sit by my side while Abel sits at ease with me,
I mean no longer like a lonely man
In the King's garden, gathering herbs and flowers
From each fair plant the immemorial grove
To weave a crown not only for the King,
But in due time for every Monarch,
Brahmin, and Buddha, Christian and Pagan,
That all the warring world of Kinsfolks

.....
Look how the living pulse of All beats
That all His world. If every single star
Should strike its flame : "I only am in heaven,"
Woe that were such splendor on the Globe
That hardly dimm'd at. There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade in all.

.....
I have the ransom of their names and souls,
I let them worship as they will, I stop
No revenue from the field of spiritual,
I call from every faith and race the best
And leave, and let for conscience and blood

.....
The Christians see a Spiritual Head :
And, following the true counsel by them all,
Myself am such in our midst, for we
Allege of glory, but for power is few
My separate late robes under me ;
To leave the type of oppression out
From office, and to spread the Divine Faith
Like oiling oil on all their stormy crews,
And fill the hollow between man and man ;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth.

And alchemize old Aeneas into the gold
Of Love, and make it current; and send back
The pining pains of indolence again,
Those -colours ever setting up their heads—
Oue JHS ! Oue Kluks !¹

Read, "A Shikishi on Akiba's Genbu," in *The Meiji University Journal*, Vol. III, 1 (1921).

